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A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BY

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

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PREFACE.

WHETHER the writer and the publishers of this book are justified or not in adding another to the many compends of American history already offered to the schools is a question to be determined by the judgment of the teachers to whom it is submitted.

The book has been prepared in full accord with the views set forth in the report of "The Committee of Seven," appointed by the American Historical Association in 1896, "to consider the subject of history in the secondary schools." Its plan assumes —

1. That American history is taught, or will be taught, in most of the secondary schools of the country, at a time when the pupils are old enough to learn, and to be interested in learning, how the circumstances and conditions of life as they find it at the present day have been brought about, through the working of influences and the movement of events in the past.

2. That those pupils have received in the lower schools some acquaintance with the romantic and delightful but not deeply instructive story of the discovery and the first explorations of the New World, and need not spend more of actual school-study on that, which is only a preface to the life-history of the United States.

It assumes, too, that most, if not all, of the teachers of

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American history in secondary schools must be in agreement with the Committee of Seven upon the fundamental principles of history-teaching, as formulated in the committee's report, — especially the following: That a "good text-book" is one "in which the *sequence* and *relation* of events can be made clear;" that "the aim of historical study in the secondary school . . . is the training of pupils, not so much in the art of historical investigation as in that of *thinking historically;*" that history, presented as it should be, "cultivates the judgment by leading the pupil to *see the relation between cause and effect*, as cause and effect appear in human affairs," — to see, in other words, "that events do not simply succeed each other in time, but that *one grows out of another*, or rather out of a combination of many others;" that "*unrelated facts* are of antiquarian rather than historical interest," and that there is no time in the school course for studying such facts, however interesting they may be in themselves.

This book is the product of a careful endeavor to realize these sound principles, in a presentation of American history to young minds that approach maturity and begin to be able to see meanings brought to light by a right putting of things together. The guiding aim in preparing it has been to show how continuous a procession is formed by the events that have real importance in American life; how linked together they are by influences that reach from one to another, or by forces that work lastingly on successive generations; and by what a plain process of evolution, from its colo-

nial beginnings, the republic of the United States has become what it is.

In pursuing this aim, the original colonies are treated, not separately, in the usual manner, but collectively, from the first, as forming already one coherent political body, made so superficially by the bond of English government, and made more substantially so by the English temper and political habit which were common to their people, and which unified them at last. Little more than what is common to their history, and what is necessary to show and explain in some degree the variations of character in them, is touched in the treatment of colonial times.

Generally, throughout the work, the purpose of the writer has led him to be sparing rather than profuse in his selection of the things to be told. It has seemed to him better to make a free use of the limited space in so small a book for the clear unfolding of essential "sequences and relations," than to pack it with a dense collection of facts. In choosing the matter to be dealt with he has found himself in agreement again with the committee already quoted, who say in their report: "While industrial and social phases of progress should by no means be slighted, it is an absolute necessity that a course in American history should aim to give a connected narrative of political events and to record the gradual upbuilding of institutions, the slow establishment of political ideals and practices." This is unquestionably true. The political institutions of the democratic republic of the United States are fundamental to every-

thing else in the life of the nation. Forces and influences that arise out of the self-governing habits of the people have entered into all that they do, giving character and direction to all developments among them, all advance, all change, whether social or industrial in its field, or intellectual or moral in its work. Hence the political history of the United States is a great main stream, which forces us in our study to follow its course; but every other stream of historical movement flows to it as a tributary, and all the expanses of the national life are opened by it to our view.

Twice in the narrative of colonial history — near the close of the seventeenth century and at the opening of the War of Independence — the writer has paused to introduce a comprehensive survey of the economic and social conditions existing in different sections of the country at those times. At the end of the work he has given a retrospective survey of similar conditions as they appear in the rapid flux of later times. These surveys, together with an Introduction, which sketches matters prior to the European settlement of regions within the territory of the United States, are not presented as numbered chapters of the book, nor printed in the type of those chapters. The intention is that teachers shall use them for reading and reference, or for regular study in the course, as they find best.

At the end of every chapter the topics of each section in it are carefully rehearsed, with numerous references to standard historical works and documentary collections, for the collateral reading and verification

which all teachers of history require. Since the books that are accessible to students must vary in different schools, it has seemed desirable to multiply the references beyond what would otherwise be needed. By giving so wide a range to them, and by making them more than usually specific, it is believed that a feature of importance is given to the book. A full list of the works referred to, arranged alphabetically under authors' names, is placed next to the maps which precede the text. The reference to each is by the author's name only, if he is represented in the list by no more than one work; but when two or more works of the same authorship appear in the list, they are distinguished by a catch title in the reference.

Attention is invited to the numerous maps with which the book is equipped, and to the mode in which they are arranged. The larger maps, most of which will be consulted frequently, on various subjects, are placed together, at the beginning of the volume, and referred to by numbers from the text. Thus placed, in what forms an historical atlas within the book, they are found more easily, and can be used more conveniently, than if distributed here and there. Smaller maps, for the special illustration of single subjects or events, are inserted with liberality in the text.

The index to the book has been prepared with more than common care, and is designed to be especially helpful to a continuous study of all important subjects in the history which run through long periods of time. By explanatory entries such subjects are made fully and

clearly traceable from beginning to end. The index includes also a guide to the maps, pointing out, for every place of historical interest, the map in which it appears and its position thereon.

The opinion of many teachers has concurred with the judgment of the publishers and the writer in deciding that pictorial illustrations would add little or nothing to the interest or instructive value of this book. Most of the portraits and other proper subjects that are available for historical illustration are made familiar to young people by text-books in the lower schools, and will be stale to them if repeated here. Pictures are omitted, therefore, from these pages, while maps are abundantly supplied.

Suggestions from many sources have been helpful to the writer in preparing his book; but he owes especial thanks to Mr. M. W. Richardson, junior-master of the South Boston High School, who has critically examined both the manuscript and the proofs, with great benefit to the general quality of the work; and to teachers in the Buffalo high schools, who have rendered a like service to some parts of the book.

BUFFALO, July, 1903.

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Pt. Concepcion
Colorado R.
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
Rio Grande
CASCADE MTS.
SIERRA NEVADA
ROCKY MTS.
WASATCH MTS.
SIERRA MADRE
EXPLANATION
Cotton
Tobacco
Coal
Iron
Copper
Gold
Silver
125°
120
115
110
105
100
Long

Map I

95° G 90° H 85° I 80° J 75° K 70° L
a
b
c
d
e
f
40°
35°
30°
25°
OF CANADA
Lake Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Ontario
Lake Erie
Lawrence R.
Hudson R.
Mohawk R.
Erie Canal
C. Cod
C. May
C. Charles
C. Hatteras
C. Canaveral
C. Sable
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Arkansas R.
Mississippi R.
OZARK MTS.
APPALACHIAN MTS.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MAP SHOWING THE
PHYSICAL FEATURES
OF
GREATEST INFLUENCE
ON
AMERICAN HISTORY
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
West 95° from Greenwich 90 H 85 I 80 J

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

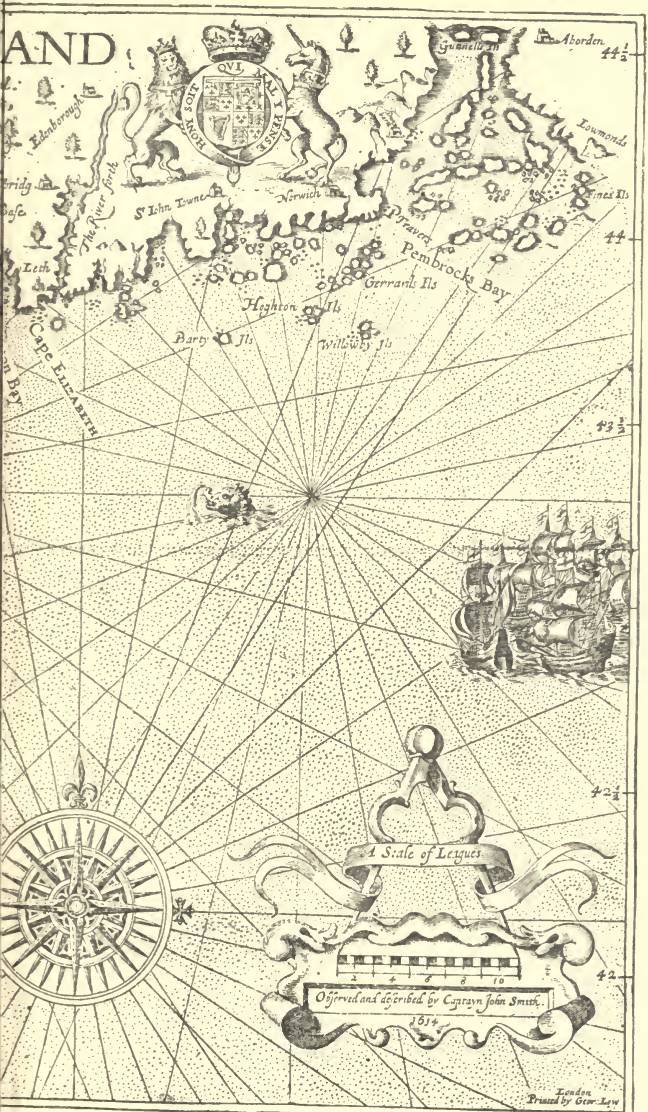
Map II

NORTH AMERICA
PACIFIC
OCEAN
HUDSON BAY
Hudson 1610
LABRADOR
John Cabot 1497
NEWFOUNDLAND
(Cabot) 1497 (English)
(Cortereal) 1501
Gulf of St. Lawrence
St. Lawrence
Louisburg (French) 1720
Port Royal (French) 1603-1607
Verrazzanno 1524
Cartier
Quebec (French) 1608
Montreal (French) 1611
Champlain 1615
Champlain 1609
Plymouth 1620 (English)
Hudson 1609
John Cabot 1498
Iroquois
New Amsterdam (Dutch) 1614
Philadelphia (English) 1682
Swanendael (Swedish) 1631
St. Marys (English) 1634
Jamestown
Ft. Duquesne (French) 1754
Detroit (French) 1701
St. Marie (French) 1668
St. Xavier (French) 1669
Ft. Miami (French) 1679
Kaskaskia (French) 1695
Sioux or Dakotas
Shoshones
Utes
Comanches
Quivira ?
1541
NEW
Coronado
C. Mendocino
(Cabrillo) 1542
(Drake) 1579
150°
A
140
B
130
C
120°
D
110
E
100
F
90
G
80
H
70°
I
60°
J
50°
K
40
L
30°
a
50°
b
40°
c

NORTH AMERICA
Discovery, Exploration and Early Settlement, 1492-1732
REFERENCE TO JOURNEYS
Columbus
Vespucius
John Cabot
Balboa
Ponce de Leon
Cortes
Cartier
De Soto
Coronado
Champlain
La Salle
Hudson
Scale of Miles
0
500
1000
Longitude West from Greenwich
D
110°
E
100
90°
80°
H
70
I
30
20
10°
0
d
e
f
SONORA
NEW SPAIN
MEXICO
Aztec or Nahuatl
Chihuahua
Culiacan (Spanish) 1532
Cortes 1531
Cortes 1519
Mexico (Spanish) 1519
Vera Cruz (Spanish) 1519
Tampico
TEXAS
Caddoans
Pawnees
Missis
La Salle
Maskoki
Savannah
Charleston (English) 1680
Port Royal Sd. or Broad R.
Savannah (English) 1732
Fort Caroline (French) 1564-1565
St. Augustine (Spanish) 1565
New Orleans (French) 1717
SPANISH
FLORIDA
Ponce de Leon 1523
Vespucius 1497-1498
GULF OF MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
Havana 1519
CUBA
(Conquered by Diego Columbus 1511)
BAHAMA ISLANDS
San Salvador
Columbus 1492
ATLANTIC
HISPANOLA
Columbus 1493
(Spanish) 1495
JAMAICA
(Spanish) 1509
(English) 1655
Columbus 1493
Columbus 1493
CARIBBEAN SEA
Vespucius 1497-1498
TRINIDAD
YUCATAN
HONDURAS
Maya-Quiché
Columbus 1502
Panama (Spanish) 1519
Balboa 1513
VERACUA
DARIEN
SOUTH AMERICA
Orinoco R.

SMITH'S MAP O

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA


AND
Edenborough
Gunnells Ils
Aborden
44½
Lowmonds
Fines Ils
44
The River forth
St John Towne
Norwich
P. Travers
Pembrocks Bay
Gerrards Ils
Hoghton Ils
Barty Ils
Willowby Ils
Leth
Cape Elizabeth
Bay
43½
42½
42
A Scale of Leagues
2 4 6 8 10
Observed and described by Captayn John Smith.
1614
London
Printed by Geor: Low

NEW ENGLAND.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Map IV

NORTH AMERICA
IN
1774
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000 1200 1400 1600
A 112 B Longitude West 97 from Greenwich C 82 D
GREENLAND
ICELAND
TERRITORY CLAIMED BY RUSSIA
Yukon
Mackenzie
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
UNDETERMINED REGION
Columbia
Missouri
HUDSON BAY
HUDSON BAY COMPANY
Hudson Str.
Winnipeg
L. Superior
L. Michigan
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
Detroit
Ohio
St. Louis
Mississippi
Montreal
Quebec
Halifax
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Richmond
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
Charleston
New Orleans
EAST FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
CUBA
HAITI
PUERTO RICO
JAMAICA
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
NEW SPAIN
Gulf of California
Rio Grande
Mexico
GUATEMALA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
EQUATOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gulf of St. Lawrence

Univ. of
California

74° 30′
A
72
B
69° 30′
C
67°
a
b
c
d
47° 30′
45
42 30′
N E W
C A N A D A
Q U E B E C
Quebec
St. Lawrence River
Ottawa R.
Montreal
FRANCE TILL 1763
M A I N E
ANNEXED TO MASSACHUSETTS IN 1691
St. John
St. Croix R.
Penobscot
Kennebec R.
Abenakis
Popham Colony
Falmouth
Casco
Tarratines
Saco
Wells
York
Kittery
Piscataqua R.
Dover
Exeter
Haverhill
DISPUTED
NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS
GREEN MTS.
WHITE MTS.
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Middlebury
Rutland
Bennington
Brattleboro
Connecticut R.
Merrimac R.
Concord
Nashua
Northfield
Deerfield
Hatfield
Hadley
Northampton
Westfield
Springfield
Groton
Concord
Lexington
Ipswich
C. Ann
Gloucester
Salem
Massachusetts Bay
Lancaster
Watertown
Cambridge
Dedham
Marblehead
Charlestown
Boston
Dorchester
Worcester
Nipmucks
Mendon
Woodstock
M A S S A C H U S E T T S
Marshfield
Plymouth
C. Cod
C. Cod B.
Sandwich
Yarmouth
Barnstable
Windsor
Pomfret
Attleborough
Providence
Swanzey
Warwick
Bristol
Wampanoags
CONNECTICUT
RHODE I.
Hartford
Wethersfield
Middletown
Waterbury
Wallingford
Haddam
Saybrook
New Haven
Milford
Norwalk
Mohegans
Pequots
Lyme
Stonington
Narragansetts
Narragansett Bay
Newport
BLOCK I.
MARTHAS VINEYARD
NANTUCKET
Long Id. Sound
LONG ID.
Hudson R.
A T
A
72°
B
69° 30′
C Longitude West
67°

D
64°30′
E
62°
F
59°30′
G
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
NEWFOUND-LAND
a
47°30′
b
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
Louisburg
NOVA SCOTIA
FUNDY
Chignecto B.
Annapolis (Port Royal)
Halifax
45°
c
42°30′
d
NEW ENGLAND COLONIES
AND
CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY NORTHWARD
TO THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
150
rom Greenwich
64°30′
E
62°
F
59°30′
G

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Map VI

MIDDLE COLONIES
And
CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY
NORTHWARD to the
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Longitude West B 77 C from Greenwich 75
NEW FRANCE
Ojibwas
Hurons
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Presque Isle (Erie)
St. Lawrence R.
Ogdensburg
Ft. Frontenac (Kingston)
Ft. Niagara
Niagara R.
Oswego
Oneida L.
Ft. Stanwix (Rome)
Black R.
Adirondack Mountains
Crown Point
Ft. Ticonderoga
L. George
Lake Champlain
Ft. William Henry
Ft. Edward
Saratoga Springs
Johnstown
Mohawk R.
Schenectady
Albany
Cherry Valley
Hudson R.
Catskill Mts
Kingston
Rhinebec
Poughkeepsie
Newburgh
Goshen
West Point
Tarrytown
White Plains
New York
Brooklyn
Flatbush
LONG ID.
Long Id. Sd.
Senecas
Cayugas
Onondagas
Oneidas
Mohawks
Seneca L.
Cayuga L.
Chemung R.
Newtown (Elmira)
Eries
Ft. LeBoeuf
French Cr.
Ft. Venango
PENNSYLVANIA
Allegheny R.
Ft. Dupuesne
Ft. Pitt
(Pittsburg)
Braddock's Defeat
Monongahela
Ft. Necessity
Great Meadows
ALLEGHANY MTS
Juniata R.
Susquehanna R.
Carlisle
Chambersburg
York
Wyoming
Kingston
Wilkesbarre
Delaware R.
Shawangunk
Shamokin (Sunbury)
Blue Mts
Easton
Allentown
Reading
Lebanon
Schuylkill R.
Valley Forge
Lancaster
Wilmington
Chester (Upland)
Philadelphia
Burlington
Trenton
Princeton
Monmouth
New Brunswick
Elizabethtown
Newark
Morristown
Salem
NEW JERSEY
Delaware B.
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
Chesapeake B.
VIRGINIA
Blue Ridge
ATLANTIC OCEAN

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

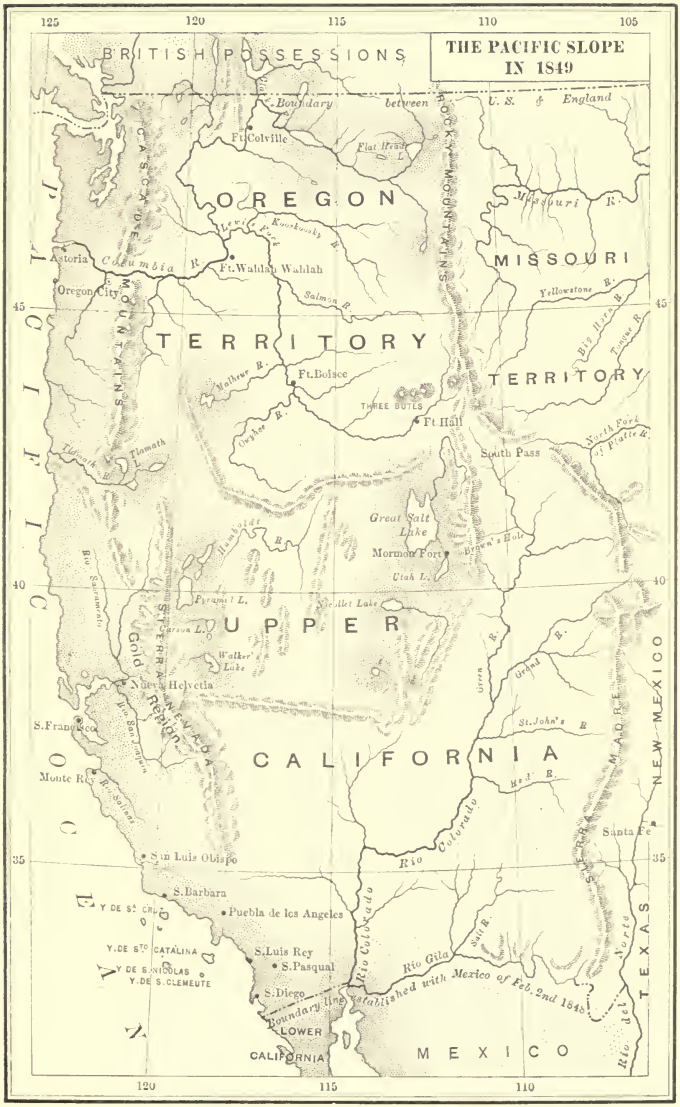
A 82° B 80° C 78° D 76° E
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehanna R.
Newcastle
DELAWARE
Delaware R.
Ohio R.
Cumberland
MARYLAND
St.George
Frederick
Baltimore
Potomac R.
Patterson R.
Chesapeake Bay
Susquehanna R.
Salisbury
Newark
Kapidan
Port Royal
Gold Hill
White Hall
Tuckahoe
Richmond
Williamsburg
James R.
Powhatan
Shirley
Bermuda
Petersburg
Jamestown
Yorktown
Old Pt. Comfort
Norfolk
Berkeley
C. Charles
C. Henry
C. Look out
C. Hatteras
Portsmouth
Pamlico Sd.
Pamlico R.
Neuse R.
Tar R.
Roanoke R.
Roanoke Is.
Edenton
Halifax
Hillsborough
Salem
Friedberg
Bethany
Tarborough
Bath
Cape Fear R.
Deep R.
Haw R.
Yadkin R.
Catawbas
NORTH CAROLINA
MECKLENBURG COUNTY
The Coopens
Hope
Yemassees
Moor's Creek
Kingston
Brunswick
C. Fear
Winsborough
Ft. Ninety Six
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
Augusta
Georgetown
C. Romain
Charlestown
Stono R.
Ft. Johnson
Ashley R.
Cooper R.
Edisto R.
Combahee R.
Beaufort
Port Royal Sd.
Ebenezer
Savannah
St. Helena Sd.
Hilton Head I.
Ogeechee R.
Alatamaha R.
Darien
Frederica
St. Mary's R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTHERN COLONIES
TO THE
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
Scale of Miles
0 20 40 80
82° B 80° C Longitude West 78° D from Greenwich 76° E

92°
87°
82°
77°
72°
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Lake Superior
Quebec
Ottawa R.
Montreal
St. Lawrence R.
L. Ontario
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
MASS. CLAIM
Detroit
NEW MASS. CLAIM
Albany
Boston
Portsmouth
Providence
Hartford
CONN.
CONNECTICUT CLAIM
Wyoming
Susquehanna R.
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Baltimore
DELAWARE
Potomac R.
VIRGINIA
Richmond
James R.
Norfolk
Illinois R.
Wabash R.
St. Louis
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Nashville
Cumberland R.
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Tennessee R.
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
Charleston
GEORGIA
Natchez
Alabama R.
Pensacola
Chattahoochee R.
Savannah
FLORIDA
New Orleans
St. Augustine
Florida
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
LAND CLAIMS OF THE STATES
PRIOR TO THE CESSIONS OF
1780-1802
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
87° Longitude West 82° from Greenwich 77°

Map IX

The
UNITED STATES
in 1790
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West from Greenwich
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
NORTH WEST TERRITORY
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMP.
CONN.
CONN. RES.
VA. MIL. RES.
DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY
TERRITORY
Ceded by North Carolina (1790)
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Hudson R.
Potomac R.
James R.
Savannah R.
Chattahoochee R.
Alabama R.
Mississippi
Illinois R.
Wabash R.
Ohio R.
Maumee R.
Quebec
Montreal
Chrysler's Farm
Kingston
Sacketts Harbor
York
L. Ontario
Albany
Portsmouth
Boston
Providence
Hartford
New York
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Baltimore
DEL.
Richmond
Norfolk
Raleigh
Charleston
Savannah
St. Augustine
Detroit
St. Joseph
Tippecanoe
Pittsburg
Marietta
Cincinnati
St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Vincennes
Nashville
Natchez
Ft. Mims
Pensacola
New Orleans
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO

Map X



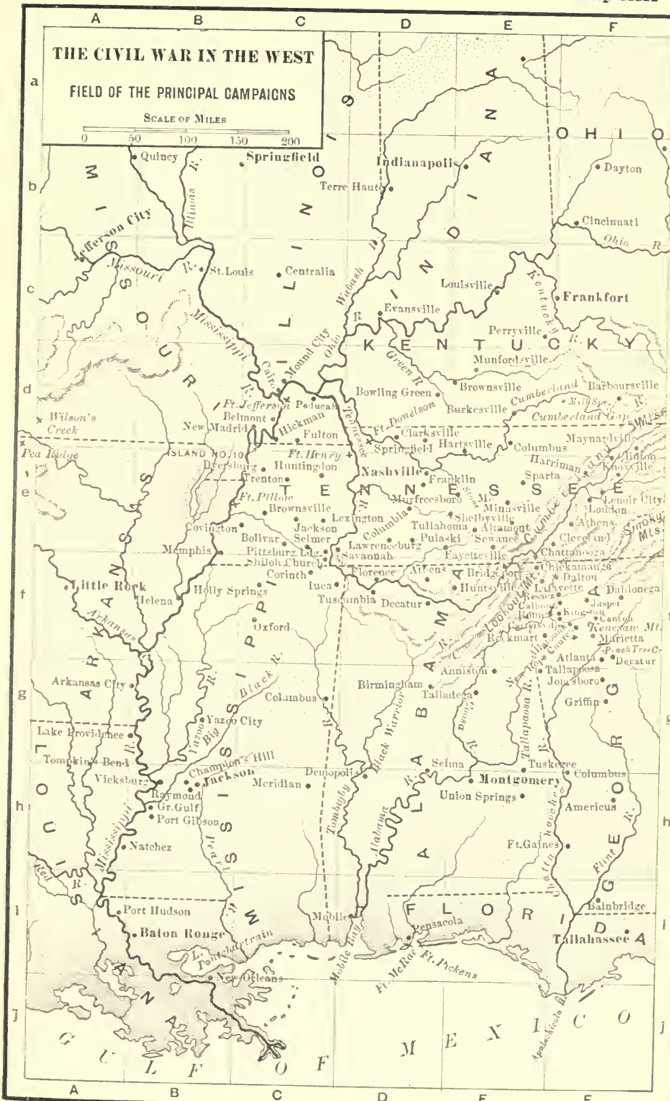
From N. C. Brooks's Complete History of the Mexican War published in 1849.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1860-1861
STATES, BOUNDARY COLOR
TERRITORIES, " "
SECEDING STATES, INTERIOR COLOR
WESTERN TERRITORIAL CHANGES IN 1861 ARE INDICATED BY DOTTED COLOR BOUNDARIES AND DIFFERENT LETTERING.
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
REPUBLIC OF MEXICO
WASHINGTON TERRITORY
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA TY.
TERRITORY OF UTAH (Curtailed) 1861
NEBRASKA TY. (Curtailed 1861)
DAKOTA TERRITORY (Erected 1861)
COLORADO TERRITORY (Erected 1861)
KANSAS TY.
KANSAS (Admitted 1861)
TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO
SO CALLED INDIAN TERRITORY
UNORG.
MINNESOTA TY.
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
TENNESSEE
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
MAINE
VER.
N.HAMP.
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.

Map XII

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE EAST
FIELD OF THE PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGNS
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
Harrisburg
Lancaster
York
Hanover
Gettysburg
Mc Connellsburg
Chambersburg
Susquehanna R.
Cumberland
Hagerstown
Berkeley Sprs.
Martinsburg
Shepherdstown
Harper's Ferry
Charlestown
Frederick
Monocacy R.
South Mountain
Antietam Cr.
Sharpsburg
Pt. of Rocks
Monocacy
Baltimore
Patapsco R.
Winchester
Kernstown
Leesburg
Potomac R.
Annapolis Jc.
Rockville
Hyattsville
Annapolis
Bladensburg
WASHINGTON
Ft. Myer
Upper Marlboro
Alexandria
Fort Washington
Mt. Vernon
Vienna
Chantilly
Groveton
Centreville
Fairfax
Gainesville
Manassas
Bristow
Brentsville
Occoquan R.
Front Royal
Manassas Gap
Chester Gap
Thoroughfare Gap
Ashby's Gap
Bull Run
Shenandoah R.
Cedar Cr.
Woodstock
Luray
Newmarket
Shenandoah
Elkton
Port Republic
Cedar Mt.
Culpepper
Brandy Sta.
Aquia Cr.
Falmouth
Fredericksburg
Chancellorsville
WILDERNESS
Todd's Tavern
Spottsylvania
Rapidan R.
Orange
Gordonsville
Trevilians
Louisa
Charlottesville
Palmyra
Dabney's Mills
Fredericks Hall
Anna R.
South Anna R.
Bowling Green
Tappahannock
Hanover
Mechanicsville
Mattapony R.
Pamunkey R.
White House Ldg.
Urbana
West Point
Rappahannock R.
Oak Grove
Leonardtown
Patuxent R.
Prince Fredericktown
St. Mary's City
CHESAPEAKE BAY
Buckingham
Powhetan
James R.
Gaines Mill
Cold Harbor
Fair Oaks
Savage Sta.
Bottoms Bridge
Seven Pines
Glendale
Chickahominy R.
Richmond
Drewry's Bluff
Chapins Bluff
Dutch Gap
Malvern Hill
WHITE OAK SWAMP
Haxhall
Harrison's Ldg.
Bermuda Hundred
City Point
York R.
Williamsburg
Gloucester
Yorktown
Big Bethel
Elizabeth City
Ft. Monroe
Old Pt. Comfort
Newport News
Hampton Rds.
C. Henry
Sewell's Pt.
Portsmouth
Norfolk
Appomattox
High Bridge
Appomattox R.
Farmville
Nottoway
Five Forks
Petersburg
Reams' Sta.
Smithville
Dinwiddie
A B C D E F
a b c d e f g h i j

Map XIII


THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WEST
FIELD OF THE PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGNS
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
Quincy
Springfield
Indianapolis
Dayton
Terre Haute
Cincinnati
Jefferson City
St. Louis
Centralia
Louisville
Frankfort
Evansville
Perryville
Munfordsville
Cairo
Mound City
Paducah
Bowling Green
Brownsville
Barboursville
Burkesville
Cumberland Gap
Wilson's Creek
Pea Ridge
Belmont
New Madrid
Hickman
Fulton
Ft. Jefferson
Ft. Donelson
Clarksville
Springfield
Hartsville
Columbus
Maynardville
Island No. 10
Ft. Henry
Huntingdon
Trenton
Nashville
Franklin
Sparta
Harriman
Knoxville
Ft. Pillow
Brownsville
Murfreesboro
Minnsville
Lenoir City
Loudon
Lexington
Jackson
Shelbyville
Athens
Covington
Bolivar
Selmer
Columbia
Tullahoma
Altamont
Smoky Mts.
Memphis
Pittsburg Ldg.
Shiloh Church
Savannah
Lawrenceburg
Pulaski
Sewanee
Cleveland
Chattanooga
Chickamauga
Dalton
Corinth
Florence
Athens
Fayetteville
Bridgeport
Little Rock
Helena
Holly Springs
Iuca
Tuscumbia
Decatur
Huntsville
Lafayette
Resaca
Calhoun
Dahlonega
Jasper
Rome
Kingston
Canton
Kenesaw Mt.
Marietta
Rockmart
Lookout Mt.
Atlanta
Decatur
Peach Tree Cr.
Oxford
Anniston
Tallapoosa
Jonesboro
Arkansas City
Birmingham
Talladega
Griffin
Columbus
Yazoo City
Lake Providence
Tompkin's Bend
Champion's Hill
Vicksburg
Jackson
Meridian
Demopolis
Selma
Montgomery
Tuskegee
Columbus
Raymond
Gr. Gulf
Port Gibson
Union Springs
Americus
Natchez
Ft. Gaines
Port Hudson
Bainbridge
Baton Rouge
Mobile
Pensacola
Tallahassee
L. Pontchartrain
New Orleans
Mobile Bay
Ft. McRae
Ft. Pickens
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Illinois R.
Ohio R.
Wabash R.
Kentucky R.
Green R.
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
Arkansas R.
Yazoo R.
Big Black R.
Pearl R.
Tombigbee R.
Black Warrior R.
Alabama R.
Coosa R.
Tallapoosa R.
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
Apalachicola R.
Red R.

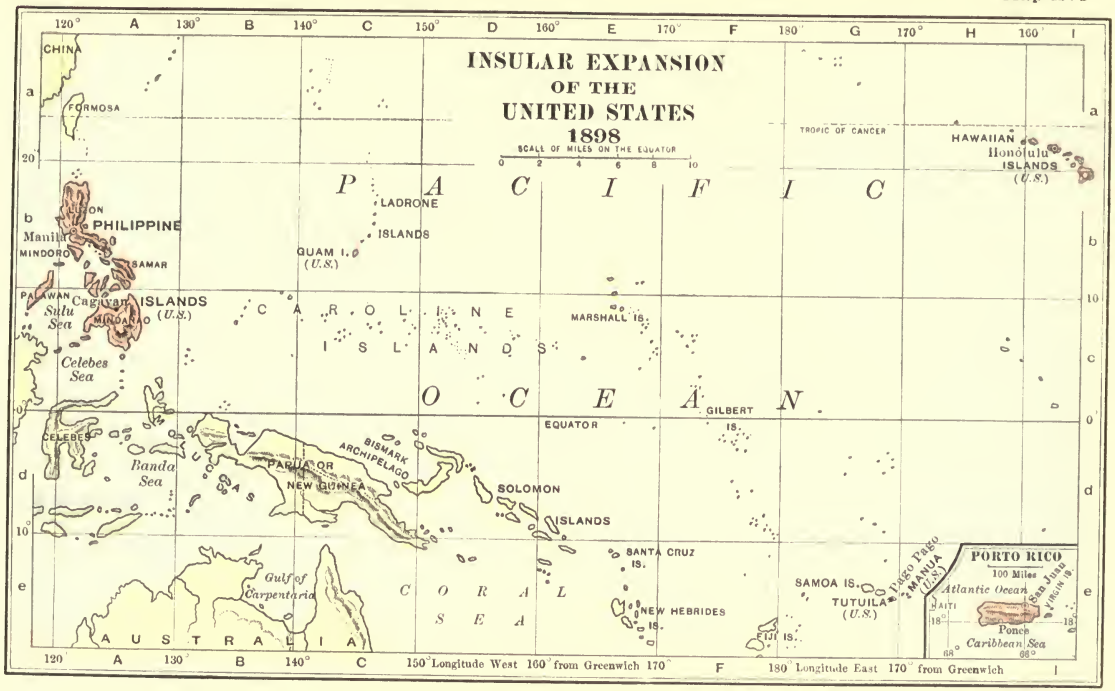
A 127 B 122° C 117 D 112 E 107 F 102° Longitude
a
45
b
40°
c
35
d
30
DOMINION
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KAN
OKLAHO
TEX
Columbia
Snake R.
Yellowstone R.
Gt. Salt L.
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
San Francisco
Denver
Platte
Missouri Compromi
36°30′
Slavery extinguished by State action, 1780-1799.
Slavery prohibited by Ordinance of 1787.
Slavery prohibited by Missouri Compromise Act, 1820.
Slavery extinguished by Mexican Law, 1829-1837.
Slavery excluded by Act Organizing Territory of Oregon, 1848.
Slavery admitted by the Compromise Acts of 1850.
Slavery admitted by the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854.
Slavery admitted by the Dred Scott Decision, 1857.
Slavery abolished by State action or (in Kentucky) by the 13th Amendment, 1863-1865.
Slavery abolished by President's Proclamation, 1863, and by State action, 1865.

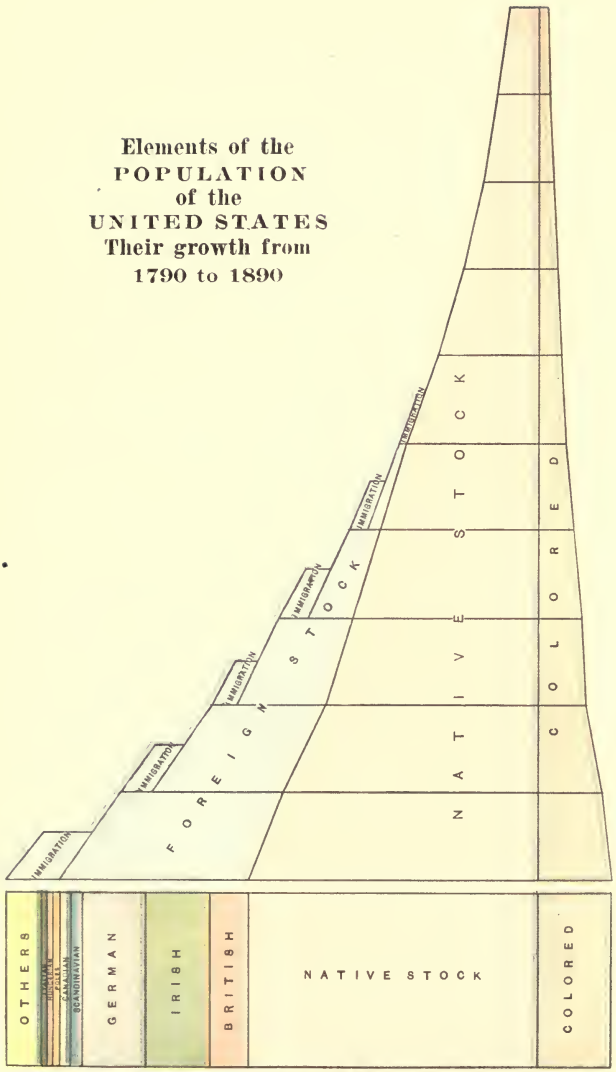
California, in 1850, Minnesota, in 1858, Oregon, in 1859, and Kansas in 1861, adopted State constitutions which prohibited slavery. By Act of Congress in 1862 it was extinguished and prohibited in all the country then remaining in the territorial State which included every region affected by the Compromise Acts of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott Decision.

THE OREGON TERRITORY ACQUIRED BY TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN 1846, AFTER JOINT OCCUPATION SINCE 1818
TERRITORY ACQUIRED FROM MEXICO BY TREATY OF GAUDALUPE HIDALGO 1848
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
REPUBLIC OF TEXAS TO THE UNION IN 1845
THE GADSDEN PURCHASE FROM MEXICO 1853
PURCHASED FROM RUSSIA IN 1867
Treaty of 1846 with Great Britain
Treaty of 1818 with Great Britain
Treaty of 1853 with Mexico
Line of 1848 (Treaty with Mexico)
Olympia
Seattle
Tacoma
WASHINGTON (1889)
Spokane
Portland
Columbia R.
Walla Walla
Salem
OREGON (1859)
IDAHO (1890)
Boise
MONTANA (1889)
Helena
Missouri R.
Yellowstone
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
WYOMING (1890)
NORTH DAKOTA (1889)
Bismarck
SOUTH DAKOTA (1889)
Pierre
NEBRASKA (1867)
Niobrara R.
Platte R.
Cheyenne
Logan
Ogden
Salt Lake City
NEVADA (1864)
Humboldt R.
Sacramento R.
Sacramento
Carson
Stockton
San Francisco
CALIFORNIA (1850)
UTAH (1894)
Georgetown
Denver
COLORADO (1876)
Leadville
Colorado Springs
Pueblo
Republican R.
KANSAS (1881)
Arkansas R.
Western Boundary
Santa Fe
Las Vegas
Albuquerque
TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO (1850)
Los Angeles
San Diego
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Prescott
TERRITORY OF ARIZONA (1863)
Phoenix
Tucson
El Paso
Pecos R.
Claimed by Texas after 1853
Rio Grande Del Norte R.
Austin
San Anton
Nueces
Montersy
PACIFIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Bering Strait
Nuatak R.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Ft. Yukon
Yukon R.
Nulato
Nuklukahyet
Kuskokwim R.
ST. LAWRENCE I.
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN IS.
DOMINION OF CANADA
ALASKA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
Long. West 150° from Green. 110°

CONTINENTAL EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES Since 1783.

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400


INSULAR EXPANSION
OF THE
UNITED STATES
1898
SCALE OF MILES ON THE EQUATOR
0 2 4 6 8 10
P A C I F I C
O C E A N
CHINA
FORMOSA
TROPIC OF CANCER
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS (U.S.)
Honolulu
LADRONE ISLANDS
PHILIPPINE
Manila
MINDORO
SAMAR
LUZON
GUAM I. (U.S.)
PALAWAN
Sulu Sea
Cagayan ISLANDS (U.S.)
MINDANAO
CAROLINE ISLANDS
MARSHALL IS.
Celebes Sea
GILBERT IS.
EQUATOR
CELEBES
Banda Sea
PAPUA OR NEW GUINEA
BISMARK ARCHIPELAGO
SOLOMON ISLANDS
SANTA CRUZ IS.
Gulf of Carpentaria
CORAL SEA
NEW HEBRIDES IS.
FIJI IS.
SAMOA IS.
TUTUILA (U.S.)
Pago Pago
MANUA (U.S.)
PORTO RICO
100 Miles
Atlantic Ocean
HAITI
San Juan
Ponce
Caribbean Sea
AUSTRALIA
120° A 130° B 140° C 150° D 160° E 170° F 180° G 170° H 160° I
150° Longitude West 160° from Greenwich 170°
180° Longitude East 170° from Greenwich



From "The Statistical Atlas of the United States Census of 1890"

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

DISCOVERY AND EARLY EXPLORATION OF AMERICA.

The Voyages of the Northmen. In a certain sense it is right to credit Columbus with the discovery of America; for his voyage made the western hemisphere known to Europe, and led to its possession by peoples from the other side of the world; but he was not the first navigator from Europe who saw and touched American shores. There is no longer a doubt that bold Northmen of the tenth and eleventh centuries, who had made their way from Norway to the Orkney and Shetland islands, and then to the Faröe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, did finally sail on toward the west and find America. The first to do this is said to have been Leif Ericson, or Leif, son of Eric the Red, whose voyage was made in the year 1000, with a single ship and a crew of thirty-five men. Others followed, and a colony was attempted, at some place which Leif had named Vinland, because he found wild grapes there, as well as good timber, which the Greenlanders and Icelanders desired. The colony failed, and further voyages beyond Greenland were given up; but the story of what had been done and seen in an unknown land survived. So far as is known, that story was not put into writing, among the "sagas," or narratives of the Icelanders, until the fourteenth century, — more than three hundred years after Leif made his voyage. Historical accuracy in the saga is not, therefore, to be sup-

Leif Ericson.

posed; but many reasons exist for believing that its main statements are true.

Geographical Ideas in the Fifteenth Century. If Icelanders or any others knew of a world beyond the Atlantic before Columbus made his way to it, their knowledge does not seem to have reached any in Europe who gave it thought, and it had no effect on geographical ideas. Those ideas were prepared already for the undertaking of Columbus, since many learned men, from the time of Aristotle, had believed the earth to be a globe, and that one might go westward as well as eastward to Asia, if the great ocean could be traversed, and if no other obstacles were found. In fact, the project of a voyage westward, to seek the Asiatic coasts on the other side of the world, was urged on the king of Portugal by Toscanelli, a famous Italian astronomer and geographer, in 1474, when Columbus, then in Portugal, most probably had his interest in the subject first roused. It is not for originating the thought of such a voyage that Columbus deserves his great fame, but for acting on it and giving effect to it, with a courage and a resolute perseverance which nothing could defeat.

The Desire in Europe to reach Asia by Sea. The desire in Europe to reach southern and eastern Asia, and the islands in that part of the globe, by sea, had been growing for years. China (then called Cathay), Japan (Cipango), India, and the islands south of it, were the countries out of which came a very large part of the chief luxuries of the age, such as spices, gums, precious stones, ivory, ebony, cotton fabrics, and silks. They were countries about which many fables were believed and few facts known; they were supposed to be kingdoms of measureless wealth. For centuries the grand prize of commerce — the greatest of all sources of wealth — had been the trade of Europe with those regions of the Far East, carried on over land-routes from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and managed by merchants of Alexandria, Constantinople, Venice, Genoa, and other Medi-

Overland trade with the East.

terranean cities. But the old Asiatic land-routes of that trade, and the whole eastern part of the Mediterranean, had fallen entirely, at last, under the control of the Turks, who capped their conquests by taking Constantinople, in 1453. Moreover, commerce on the western Mediterranean was harassed by increasing swarms of pirates from the Barbary coasts. If a practicable ocean-route to the East did actually exist, every year added urgency to the need of its discovery and use.

But though Europe, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, was shaking off the torpid ignorance of the Middle Ages, the spirit of enterprise was not yet easily waked. One man, in Portugal, a son of the king, had been moved by that spirit long before. This was Prince Henry, called "the Navigator," who spent his life in promoting expeditions down the west African coast, to find the southern end of that continent and sail round it to the lands of the East. From 1418 to 1463, when he died, Prince Henry strove at this work, sending ship after ship; but the farthest point they had reached at his death was a little beyond the Gambia River, — not a fourth of the distance to the goal at which he aimed. He had trained the Portuguese, however, for tasks of ocean exploration, and they did not give them up. They pushed their voyages down the African coast, and began to think, moreover, of the practicability of reaching the same end by a westward voyage.

Prince Henry of Portugal.

The Voyages of Columbus. Maritime enterprise was at this stage in Portugal when, at some time between 1470 and 1474, Christopher Columbus, the Genoese mariner and map-maker, came to Lisbon and found employment there. It is evident that the project of a voyage westward to the Indies took possession of his mind soon after he reached Lisbon, if it had not done so before; for he wrote to Toscanelli in 1474, seeking advice and information, and received an encouraging reply. The means for carrying out his project, however, were not to be obtained in Portugal, and he went to Spain. After many years of weary effort in the two countries, he won Queen Isa-

bella of Castile to belief in his plans. An agreement was signed in the spring of 1492, under which he set sail from Palos on the 3d of the following August, with a little fleet of three small caravels, not one of which was fit for an Atlantic voyage.

Columbus and Isabella.

The ships furnished to Columbus had been taken for the expedition from unwilling owners by royal command; debtors and criminals had been released from prison to make up some considerable part of a reluctant crew; and it is splendid proof of commanding qualities in the great explorer that he was able, in such circumstances, to keep mutiny suppressed for ten weeks, every day of which was changing the fears of his men into despair. Before September ended he was in extreme peril from the murderous thoughts that were working in the minds of his crew; yet his strong spirit kept them in awe until the night of the 11th of October (Old Style, being the 20th, New Style), when a light was seen, which indicated land. At two o'clock next morning the land itself was in view, and at daybreak the happy explorer, with many of his companions, now penitent and admiring, went on shore in formal state, and took possession in the name of the queen of Castile.

Land discovered.

Columbus found himself on a small island, now known to have been one of the Bahamas; but which of those islands it was is a question in dispute. He supposed that he had arrived in the neighborhood of Cathay; and when, cruising southward, he coasted Cuba and reached Hayti, he concluded the latter to be Cipango (though he named it Española — Little Spain), and the former to be a part of the mainland on the Asiatic side of the world. He was puzzled by not finding the cities and the splendors he expected, but does not seem to have been shaken in his belief. His explorations were checked on Christmas day by the wrecking of his principal ship, and this decided him to return to Spain. He reached Palos on the 15th of March, 1493, after a stormy and perilous voyage.

The return was triumphant; the joy and pride in Spain

were intense; the excitement amongst navigators and geographers, when news of what Columbus had accomplished went slowly through Europe, must have been very great; and yet nobody realized what he had done. Nobody suspected that he had found a New World. He was supposed to have reached, as he himself believed, some undetermined part of eastern Asia, which might be called vaguely "the Indies;" and the lands of his discovery were so described. It followed naturally that their inhabitants were called "Indians;" and thus the aboriginal people of the western hemisphere received a meaningless name.

The news in Europe.

To secure and establish Spanish sovereignty over the countries which Columbus had discovered, and over further discoveries in the western ocean, an immediate application was made to the pope for such a grant as the head of the Christian church was then believed to have power to make, in disposal of heathen lands. Previous popes had made similar grants to the kings of Portugal, covering every region of heathendom that their ships might reach. The reigning pope, Alexander VI., now issued two bulls, or papal edicts, on the 3d and 4th of May, 1493, vesting in the Spanish crown a like sovereignty over countries then or thereafter found in the western ocean, west of a meridian line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, so far as such countries were not occupied already by Christian powers. Thus Portugal and Spain had papal authority for claiming all the regions of the earth which Christendom was then beginning to discover; and papal authority in those days was hard to dispute. By a treaty signed at Tordesillas, in 1494, the Spanish and Portuguese sovereigns moved the dividing meridian between their papal grants to a point 370 leagues (about 1110 geographical miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands, making it, according to later computations, the meridian of 47° 32′ 56″ west of Greenwich.

Grant of land by the pope.

To Columbus his grand discovery brought nothing but a harassed and embittered life. He returned to Hispaniola in 1493, with a fleet of seventeen ships, bearing a large party of

eager adventurers, who expected to receive fortunes at his hands. He explored diligently for the great cities and rich peoples of Cipango and Cathay, and they were nowhere to be found. He discovered Jamaica and other islands, but they gave him nothing that he sought. A little gold was picked up, here and there, but not much. His disappointed colonists grew angry and vindictive, and the sorely tried viceroy (so he had been commissioned) had to use his authority with a hard hand. Some of the discontented stole ships and returned to Spain, with charges against him. Then came war with the natives, already plundered and oppressed.

Columbus's second voyage.

In the spring of 1496 Columbus returned to Spain, and was absent from America for more than two years. On the voyage which brought him back, in 1498, he took a more southerly course, and came to the island of Trinidad and the coast of South America, at the delta of the Orinoco. He saw that a river which discharged so much water as the Orinoco must flow through a continent; but he never doubted that the continent was either Asia, or a neighbor to Asia, lying close to it on the south. He reached his colony late in the summer, and found affairs there in worse condition than when he left. For two years he struggled with rebellion, fomented and encouraged by enemies at the Spanish court. The latter succeeded finally in having one Bobadilla sent out to investigate and deal with the troubles, and the powers given to that official were such that he sent Columbus home in chains. The foul indignity was somewhat repaired by Queen Isabella, who gave a kind reception to the great explorer, now old and worn; but he was never restored to the viceroyalty of the lands he had added to the dominions of Castile.

Columbus's third voyage.

Columbus in chains.

He was given, however, a small and poor fleet of four caravels, with which to make a fourth exploring voyage. This time, sailing in May, 1502, he found the Central American coast, and examined it for some distance, attempting to establish a colony at Veragua, without

Columbus's death.

success. In returning to Spain, which he reached in November, 1504, he suffered great hardships; and on the 20th of May, 1506, he died.

The Rounding of Africa by the Portuguese. Columbus died in the belief that he had accomplished what he set out to do, reaching eastern Asia by sailing towards the west. Meantime, the Portuguese explorers had actually realized the dream of Prince Henry, and the national ambition of eighty years, having sailed round Africa into the Indian Ocean and so to Hindustan. The first of their captains to reach and pass the southern extremity of the African continent was Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, but he did no more. In 1497–98 Vasco da Gama made the complete voyage to India, reaching Calicut, on the Malibar coast. This achievement had effects of more immediate importance than those coming from what Columbus had done. It turned the rich trade of the East into a new channel and into new hands. It practically ended the great commercial career of Venice and other cities of the Mediterranean Sea. It seated the wider commerce of the world on the Atlantic coast of Europe, and that change had much to do with the subsequent rise of Holland and England as the leading maritime powers.

Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama.

The Voyages of John Cabot. Columbus was alone in the glory of his voyages to the western waters of the Atlantic until 1497. Then John Cabot, an Italian, residing at Bristol, England, commissioned by the English king, Henry VII., to explore the wide ocean, steered a course so straight westward that it brought him, as is now believed, to the coast of Labrador. He sighted the coast on the 24th of June, 1497, being the first of the fifteenth century explorers to see the American mainland. In the next year he commanded a second expedition, which is believed to have reached the American coast at some point south of Labrador, and skirted it thence to Florida; but the scant records of the voyage are obscure. Until recently it was understood that this second voyage was commanded by

Discovery of the American continent.

Sebastian Cabot, a son of John; but research has substantially proved that John Cabot was the explorer in both years. The Cabot discovery and coasting exploration gave grounds to the English crown for claiming sovereignty over most of the North American continent, though the claim was not put forward for many years.

Vespucius, and the Naming of America. Another Italian navigator, Amerigo Vespucci (or Americus Vespucius, as his name was latinized), is believed by some historians to have coasted a long stretch of the southern part of North America in 1497–98. It is well known that Vespucius made voyages to America in 1499 and 1501–02; but, in a letter that was published in Europe not long after he returned from the latter voyage, Vespucius gave accounts of an earlier expedition, in 1497–98, which he had accompanied as pilot and astronomer. His story of it led Humboldt and others, in later times, to believe that he had then explored Central and North American coasts from Honduras to Florida. Other historical investigators have satisfied themselves that Vespucius never made the voyage in question, and that his account of it is false. We will not attempt to decide which view is correct.

Vespucius's voyages.

Americus Vespucius had scholarly friends in Europe who made his voyages widely known. One of them, Martin Waldseemüller, a professor of geography at St. Dié, Lorraine, in a book published in 1507, suggested that the continent (South American) coasted by Vespucius in 1501–02, which he had described as "Mundus Novus," a New World, should be named in his honor, AMERICA. It was supposed to be a country quite distinct from the lands that Columbus had found, the latter being Asiatic, while Vespucius, going beyond the equator, had come upon a world that the ancients never knew. Map-makers and globe-makers took up the suggestion, and, without any common agreement or formal action of any kind on the subject, it came to pass that the name AMERICA was fixed, first to the southern and then to the northern of the two continents of the New World.

Waldseemüller's suggestion.

Early Explorations and Conquests. Many years passed after the death of Columbus before the Spaniards, gold-hunting and exploring around the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, could be shaken from the belief that they were in Asian lands and waters. Yet Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, then leader of a settlement at Darien, crossed the mountains of the narrow isthmus in 1513, saw the great Pacific Ocean, and waded into its waters to proclaim that he took possession of the whole sea for the kings of Castile. In the previous year, Juan Ponce de Leon explored Florida (seeking a fabled Fountain of Youth), and learned something of its extent. In 1519 Alvarez de Pineda entered the mouth of the Mississippi and was on the lower waters of the enormous stream for no less than six weeks. In the same year Hernando Cortes landed on the Mexican coast and began that rapacious conquest of a half-civilized people, the story of which is more thrilling than any romance. By that time it was impossible not to suspect that the mass of land which had such coast lines, such varieties of people, and so stupendous a river, might be one that blocked the sea between Europe and Asia, and signified a larger girth to the world than geographers had been reckoning upon. Such suspicions were more than strengthened when a few survivors of the marvellous and terrible voyage of Magalhães (called Magellan in English speech) returned to Spain in 1522, with news of an actual circumnavigation of the globe, — of the discovery of Magellan's straits at the southern end of Vespucius's New World; of the crossing of the great "South Sea;" of the finding of the Philippines and the Moluccas, or Spice Islands; and of the homeward voyage thence by the Cape of Good Hope. The existence of a wide ocean between the imagined Indies and Cathay of Columbus and the real Indies and Cathay began to be understood. But no conception was yet formed of the magnitude of the lands which lay between the Atlantic and that farther sea. The new continent was believed to have not much

Discovery of the Pacific.

Ponce de Leon, Pineda, Cortes.

Magellan's voyage round the world.

breadth, and possibly to be divided by straits, through which a passage from ocean to ocean might be found. It then became the main object of exploration for the next hundred years to find such a "northwest passage," and, after every inlet, bay, and river mouth, south of the Arctic Circle, had been probed, the search for it went on for two more centuries in the farther north.

Search for a northwest passage.

The French did not enter the field of exploration until 1524, though some of their hardy fishermen had been resorting to the Newfoundland banks for a score of years, at least, before that date. It was an Italian, Verrazano, in the service of Francis I., king of France (then at war with Spain), who visited some parts of the American coast in the year named above, possibly sighting the mouth of the Hudson River, and touching New England shores; but little is known of his voyage. Ten years later (1534) a French explorer, Jacques Cartier, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, fully believing that he had found a passage to the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea. Approaching winter drove him back, but he returned the next year and sailed up the St. Lawrence River, until stopped by the rapids, where the city of Montreal arose in after years. In 1541 an attempt was made by an enterprising French nobleman, Jean François de la Roque, lord of Roberval, to colonize the country discovered by Cartier, and the latter was joined with him in a patent obtained from the king. After Cartier and Roberval had each in turn passed a winter on the St. Lawrence, they abandoned their plans.

Verrazano.

Cartier.

De la Roque.

One Narvaez, a Spaniard, landed an expedition of 400 men, with 80 horses, on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, in 1528, hoping to find another such prize of empire and plunder as Cortes had won. At the end of a month of fruitless marching the party built boats and coasted to the mouth of the Mississippi, where many of them were wrecked and drowned. The remainder were cast ashore at some distance farther west, and all perished except three Spaniards and a negro, who were captured by the Indians,

Narvaez.

but contrived to make themselves feared as sorcerers, and were spared. For nearly eight years they wandered with the natives, until, in 1536, they reached a Spanish outpost in Mexico, having journeyed about 2000 miles. They are supposed to have travelled through Texas and Chihuahua to northeastern Sonora. An account of their extraordinary adventures was published afterward by one of the party, Cabeza de Vaca, whose later career showed him to be no ordinary man.

Cabeza de Vaca.

Cabeza de Vaca's experience, proving the magnitude of the region north of the Mexican gulf, probably stimulated a new expedition to explore and possess it, which started from Havana, Cuba, in 1539, with Fernando de Soto in command. Soto landed in western Florida, marched northward to the Savannah River, then westward, being desperately resisted by the Indians, to the Yazoo, where he spent the winter of 1541–42. In the following spring he crossed the Mississippi, marched up its western bank to some point probably beyond the Missouri state line, and then turned back. On the return march he died. A little more than half of his men made their way to Tampico, Mexico, by river and coast.

Soto and the Mississippi.

Another expedition, resulting partly from Cabeza de Vaca's reports, and partly from other stories that were afloat at that time, started northward from Mexico, under Francisco de Coronado, in 1540, to seek for seven wonderful cities, supposed to be hidden far away in that part of the land. An adventurous monk had seen them from a distance, in the previous year, and imagined splendors in them which did not exist. Coronado found these "seven cities of Cibola," as they were called, and they proved to be, as is now known, the pueblos of the Zunis, in New Mexico, one of which is still occupied by the tribe. Interesting as those pueblos are, they offered nothing that Coronado desired; nor did he find anywhere the treasure that he sought, though he marched far beyond them, through Colorado, to the east of the mountains that are full of silver and gold.

Coronado.

Europe and America in the Sixteenth Century.

Effects in Europe of the late Geographical Discoveries. The discovery of America and the finding of an ocean route from western Europe, around Africa, to the eastern seas, were events which produced extraordinary effects in the following age. Their new revelation of the world was a surprise to men's minds, which kindled imagination, wakened ideas, shattered many old bigotries of ignorance, emboldened both action and thought, and set a vigorous spirit of adventure and enterprise astir. By shifting the main seats of navigation and commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic coast of Europe, they brought fresh races into the lead of the world's work.

The Decay of Spain. The Spaniards and Portuguese, who won possession of the new fields at first and held them for a time, were peoples of high capacity, but unfortunate circumstances were combining to bring a blight on their national life. Nine years before the voyage of Columbus, the misguided piety of Queen Isabella had established the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition, which soon crushed intellectual freedom in Spain. After the death of Isabella (1504) and her husband, King Ferdinand (1516), the united Spanish crowns passed to a prince, their grandson (called Charles I. in Spain, but better known as the Emperor Charles V.), who inherited additionally the wide dominions of Austria and Burgundy, the latter including the rich provinces of the Netherlands (now Holland and Belgium), and who was elected in 1519 to be king of Germany and emperor of what claimed to represent the great empire of old Rome. Raised thus above all other sovereigns of his day in prestige and power, this imperial king was able to destroy every vestige of political freedom in Spain, and that unhappy nation went slowly to decay, under the double despotism in state and church.

The Inquisition.

Emperor Charles the Fifth.

It was ill fortune that led the Spaniards to those parts of America in which the precious metals were found, for the

ruin of their country was hastened by the cruel plundering of Mexico and Peru. They could not keep the wealth of gold and silver that they gathered; it ran through their hands to enrich other people more than themselves. It paralyzed thrifty industry and substantial enterprise; it seduced and corrupted all classes; it was worse than wasted by kings and courts. The Spaniards were never colonists of their American possessions, in the proper sense of the term; they were conquerors, — their object was not to develop, but to drain. It is more than possible, however, that if any other of the European peoples had been first to find the mines of the Aztecs and the Incas, the result would have been the same.

Effect of discoveries on Spain.

Rise of the Dutch. In the first years of the reign of that emperor, Charles V., who was king of Spain, the religious movement known as the Protestant Reformation was begun. He resisted it in all parts of his dominions, but it spread with rapidity almost everywhere except in Spain, where the heavy hand of the Inquisition suppressed it at once. The same dreadful engine of persecution was set to work in the Netherlands by Charles, with a different effect. Under him and his son, Philip II., the provinces so called were made to suffer many years of malignant and horrible oppression, until they were driven to revolt. Then, in their struggle for freedom, they showed a fortitude, a heroism, a vigor of spirit, that have never been surpassed. They not only won their independence in the end, but, even in the midst of their long battle with the greatest power of the age, they mastered most of the commerce of the very seas which the Spaniards and Portuguese were claiming as their own. Portugal, by falling under the rule of Philip II., shared the Spanish blight, and surrendered her brief control of the trade of the East to the Hollanders, or Dutch, who shared it with the English at a later day.

Philip the Second.

England and the English. — Origin of Puritans and Independents. — First Colonizing Attempts. England, at the time of the discovery of America, had just passed through a long

series of civil wars, by which the ancient liberties of the people and the parliamentary franchises that protected them were impaired. The sovereigns (of the Tudor family) who then acquired the crown were able to create a more absolute government than the country had known before, and the second of their line, Henry VIII., became one of the worst of the despots of a singularly despotic age. He opposed the Reformation with violence; but, when the pope of that day refused to annul his marriage with a queen whom he wished to discard, he forced the church in England to cast off its former allegiance to the Roman pontiff, to assume an independent character, and to acknowledge the king as its supreme head. Under his son, Edward VI., and his daughter, Elizabeth, the Church of England, thus organized independently, acquired a character much nearer to that of the Protestant or Reformed churches of the continent than Henry VIII. had desired; but it retained more of the old forms of worship than many of its clergy and lay members approved. In the time of Queen Elizabeth there grew up a strong party in the church which aimed at further changes, and this party of the Puritans, as they were styled, bore a part of great importance in the subsequent history, not of England alone, but of English colonies in America as well. A smaller religious party, called Separatists, or Independents, went further than the Puritans, withdrawing from connection with the established national church, denying the authority of government in matters of religion, and claiming the right of each Christian congregation to organize and rule itself. Some of these, too, made an important appearance in subsequent American history.

Reformation in England.

Rise of Puritans and Independents.

Circumstances, in the reign of Elizabeth, brought the English into conflict with Spain. Long before the conflict came to an acknowledged state of war, Spanish settlements in America and Spanish ships laden with the spoils of the New World were attacked and plundered in a more than half piratical way. It was in that lawless warfare with the Span-

iards that the English really entered on their career of power as a maritime people; and it was then that they began to put forward their own claims to America, founded on the voyages of John Cabot, the first explorer known to have reached the North American continent and coasted its shores. The practical assertion of those claims appeared first in a royal patent issued to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1578, empowering him to occupy and colonize such territory in the New World, "not actually possessed by any Christian prince," as he might choose to take. Sir Humphrey perished at sea, and his undertaking came to naught. He was followed in it by his younger half-brother, Walter Raleigh (afterward Sir Walter), who spent his fortune in repeated attempts to plant an American settlement that would take root. Raleigh made a careful beginning in 1584, when he sent out two ships, under capable captains, to explore and choose a site. They found what pleased them on the island of Roanoke, and made a report so favorable that Raleigh, in the following year, placed a colony of 108 persons there. These people remained a single year, and then, being visited by a cruising fleet, commanded by the famous English rover, Captain Drake, they begged to be taken home. Raleigh, undiscouraged, sent a second colony to the same ground in 1587. For three years thereafter, in consequence of the war with Spain, this settlement was reached by no ship, and when, in 1590, the island was visited once more, not a vestige of the unfortunate colonists could be found. Their fate is unknown; but a surviving remnant of the Indians who were neighbor to them (the Croatans) are said to show signs even now, in their names, their language, and their bodily features, which intimate that some, at least, of the lost colonists were taken into the tribe. Raleigh's means had been exhausted, and colonizing enterprise became nearly extinct in England for a score of years. But English claims to the greater part of North America were maintained, and the whole region was named Virginia, in honor of the English "virgin queen."

First English attempts to found colonies.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

Virginia.

French Huguenot Colonies in America. In France the Reformation movement of the sixteenth century gave rise to a long series of religious civil wars between the Protestants (called Huguenots) and the Catholics, who adhered to the ancient church and its papal head. The latter prevailed, and the Huguenots, at different periods, were made to suffer severely at their hands. As a means of escape from their troubled life in France, emigration to America was recommended by Admiral Coligny, the Huguenot leader, and three attempts at colonization were made, in 1555, 1562, and 1564. The Canada region, which France claimed as the discovery of Cartier, was barred to them, and they were forced to trespass on the claims of some other nation in seeking a home. Their first undertaking was on the bay of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where their settlement was suppressed by the Portuguese. Coligny then planted a colony on Port Royal Sound, or Broad River, in what is now South Carolina; but it endured the hardships of the wilderness only one year. His third colony was placed on the St. John's River, in Florida, and this, the most sadly fated of all, was savagely destroyed by the Spaniards (1565), who butchered every man, woman, and child, about seven hundred in all. That bloody deed gave no offence to the French government, but was avenged by a private citizen, Dominic de Gourgues, who recaptured the forts which the Huguenots had built on the St. John's, and slew the Spaniards in them, to the last man.

Coligny's colonies.

The Aboriginal Inhabitants of North America.

State of the Tribes when First Known. Little or nothing is known of the life of mankind in this western hemisphere before Columbus made his memorable voyage to it in 1492. Some reasonable conjectures are founded on facts learned then and since, but no actual knowledge of the aboriginal people of America prior to that time can be said to exist. Numerous tribes of a race very different from any seen in

other parts of the world were found inhabiting the two continents and the neighboring islands, and, while most of them were savage or barbarous, a few had advanced to the half-civilized state. These latter were beginning a rude invention of writing by pictures mixed with signs, but they had not yet made it a means of preserving the records of their past. In the proper sense of the term history, the History of America begins, therefore, with the arrival from Europe of people who practised the recording art. Behind it lies an undoubtedly long "prehistoric" time, of which some glimpses have been obtained by a careful study of relics, remains, traditions, myths, languages, customs, and religious beliefs. These furnish facts of a kind from which much can be inferred that is probable, but little, after all, that is not open to frequent questioning and dispute.

Earliest knowledge of Indians.

The tribes and confederacies of tribes found in different parts of the western continents and islands differed widely in character, in condition, and in language; but nearly all scientific men now believe that they came from one stock, and that no other stock or race had ever existed in this part of the world. Furthermore, it seems to be a fairly well settled scientific belief that the race did *not* have its origin in America; but whence its ancestry came, and at how remote a time, are questions much debated, on slender grounds of fact. We will not enter the debate.

Origin of Indians.

Until lately it was believed that large parts of this continent, especially in the great valley of the Mississippi, had been inhabited once by another more civilized people, whose imagined empire had suffered worse than the fate of Rome, being obliterated so entirely by invading barbarians that no relic remained, except a multitude of mysterious artificial "mounds," scattered widely throughout the land. But speculation concerning those singular mounds and their builders is now silenced by the systematic and scientific study which the United States Bureau of Ethnology, organized by the government, at Washington,

Mounds and mound builders.

has brought to bear on the subject in recent years. It has been proved beyond doubt that the mounds in question are of no great antiquity; that they were the work of known aboriginal tribes; and that they signify no state more civilized than that in which those tribes were found. In some instances they were burial mounds; in others they were works of defence.

If the making of pottery is taken (as suggested by the late Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, in his work on "Ancient Society") for the mark of distinction between savage and barbarous peoples, the native tribes of North America were generally in the barbarous state when first known to the European world. A few would be classed as savages, but not low in the scale; a few more had risen to the rank of the half-civilized man. Not any had passed out of what is known as "the stone age" of culture; the period, that is, in which weapons, tools, and other implements are made wholly or mostly of stone. Copper, found in its pure state and easily worked, had come into use in many parts of the continent; and even the hardening of copper into bronze, by an alloy of tin, is said to have been practised by some of the Mexican tribes, which had also learned the working of silver and gold; but, even among the latter, tools and weapons of stone remained in common use.

The Stone Age.

Many tribes, in many parts of the country, carried on some rude cultivation of the soil. Maize, or Indian corn, the one cereal native to America, and cultivated more easily than other grains, was raised extensively; other products were pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, and beans. These native articles of food were welcomed by the European settlers when they came, and have had importance in American agriculture and diet ever since. Another gift to the newcomers was tobacco, the liking for which was learned so quickly and spread so rapidly abroad that tobacco-culture soon became the most profitable industry of the New World.

Cultivation of soil.

In their labors and in the improvement of their modes of life the native Americans had no domesticated animals to give them help, except the llama of Peru. No beasts in the north-

ern continent appear to have been capable of domestication, save the wolf, from the taming of which a poor species of dog had been obtained. The horse is found to have had a primitive existence in North America, but the species became extinct; the buffalo has proved practically untamable; and, in fact, the continent was singularly wanting in dumb helpers for man. Without flocks and herds, or beasts of burden, the American race was handicapped seriously in its rise out of primitive conditions of life.

Lack of domestic animals.

The tribes most advanced were found in Mexico, Central America, and Peru; but the state of culture among them is now known to have been much lower than formerly was supposed. The Spaniards who subjugated them misunderstood many things that they saw, and exaggerated many particulars, so that wholly wrong ideas of the native people, and of their social and political organization, were drawn from the early Spanish accounts. In Mexico, for example, they mistook a league or confederacy of three dominant tribes for an "empire," and its war chief for an emperor or king. They mistook huge communal buildings, like the "pueblos" still existing in New Mexico and Arizona, — the fortress tenements of many kindred families, sometimes populated by thousands of men, women, and children, — they mistook these for palaces, and described them as evidences of royal magnificence and power.

Indians of Mexico and Peru.

The facts, placed now beyond doubt by recent studies, show a condition that can fairly be called half-civilization, among the Aztec or Nahuatl tribes of Mexico, the Maya-Quiché tribes of Central America, and the tribes of Peru. In agriculture and in some mechanical arts the Peruvians were the more advanced, and in their religious worship they were innocent of the human sacrifice and the cannibalism of the hideous Mexican rites; but written language, in which the Aztecs and the Mayas had made beginnings, was unknown to the Peruvian tribes. The skill of the three peoples in architecture was much beyond that found elsewhere in the New World.

Linguistic Grouping of the Tribes. Many varieties of language were spoken by the native American tribes, most of which, still preserved among the survivors of the race, have been studied with care, especially since the formation of the Bureau of Ethnology, which directs those studies in a systematic way. The result has been to find relationships of language, or "families of speech," which classify the numerous tribes within the present territory of the United States into fifty-seven groups, the tribes in each group speaking dialects of the same tongue. These linguistic families or stocks are mostly small, more than half of the whole number being located in little districts on the Pacific coast. Some, however, were originally very large, and were spread over wide areas of the country; among such the following stood first:

1. The Algonquian stock. The many large tribes of this group were spread over the whole North Atlantic coast, as far south as North Carolina, and the whole interior westward to the Mississippi (including Canada almost entire to the Rocky Mountains), excepting a region occupied by the Iroquois, or Huron-Iroquois, as described below.

Algonquins.

2. The Iroquoian stock. The fierce, aggressive tribes of the Iroquois had forced their way into the heart of the Algonquian domain, and, when first known, were in possession of territory covering the present State of New York (except on the lower Hudson) and most of Pennsylvania, with part of Maryland, northern Ohio, eastern Michigan, the Canadian border of lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, and the upper waters of the St. Lawrence River. Their footing on the St. Lawrence was not maintained. The tribe in possession of the Canadian peninsula, between lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, known as the Hurons or Wyandots, was Iroquoian, but at enmity with the Iroquoians south of the lakes.

Iroquois.

In some respects, especially in political organization, the Iroquois were the most capable and the most advanced of all the natives found within the territory now covered by the United States. The five tribes (commonly called the Five Nations) of New York (Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Ca-

yugas, Senecas) were united in a remarkable league of federal government, which might have given birth to a great dominating power, the seat and centre of an independent civilization, if European intruders had not broken in upon its development when they did. According to Iroquois traditions, this league of the Five Nations (afterward made Six Nations when the Tuscaroras were taken in) had existed but a short time when Columbus and those who followed him came first to these shores. It is believed to have been formed about the middle of the fifteenth century, by Hiawatha,[1] a famous chief of the Onondagas, who deserves to be ranked among the great statesmen of the world. *Five Nations.*

3. The Muskogean or Maskoki stock. This held most of the country south of the Tennessee and east of the Mississippi, to the Atlantic and the Gulf. Its greater tribes were the Creeks, the Cha'htas or Choctaws, and the Chickasaws. *Maskoki.*

4. The Siouan or Dakota family, whose large domain embraced nearly the entire western watershed of the Mississippi, from the Arkansas northward, and extended beyond to the Saskatchewan. *Sioux.*

5. The Caddoan or Pawnee family, whose territory was mostly south of the Siouan, in Louisiana, eastern Texas, and Arkansas. *Pawnee.*

6. The Shoshonean stock, the Shoshonean, Ute, and Comanche tribes of which ranged over a great part of the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada; from northern Mexico to Oregon. *Shoshonean.*

The tribes encountered by early European settlers and explorers, within the territory now embraced in the United States and Canada, were mostly those belonging to the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Muskogean groups.

[1] Traditions of Hiawatha, picked up by Schoolcraft and other writers, became mixed and confused with myths that had no reference to him, and a legend was formed on which Longfellow founded his poem. The Hiawatha of Iroquois history gave his name to the poem, but little more.

Physical Features of North America and their Historical Influence.

Mountain and River Systems. Why many things happened in American history as they did can be learned by careful study of Map I., at the beginning of this book, which shows a few of the physical features of the continent, and some effects that came from conditions of climate and soil. The conspicuous features that catch our eyes first are (1) the two systems of mountains, or of mountainous elevations of land, which lift the eastern and western sides of the continent to considerable heights above the wide stretch of its interior ground, and (2) the two mighty river systems, by which that vast interior land is drained. Between the mountain systems — called Appalachian[1] on the east and Cordilleran on the west — flows the Mississippi, gathering the stupendous volume of its waters, through countless branches, from springs in the hills of both systems, 2000 miles apart. Along the northeastern border of the valley of the Mississippi is stretched the chain of the Great Lakes, drained to the Atlantic through the channel of the St. Lawrence, which skirts the eastern mountain system and passes round it at the north. These masses of highlands on the eastern and western sides of the continent, and these basins and channels of water-drainage for the great expanse of territory between them, are the bottom facts of American history. The western mountains came late into the story; the eastern had very much to do with the shaping of its earlier events. Let us note a few particulars: —

Appalachian and Cordilleran Mountains.

Influences of Physical Geography on American History.

1. Because the ranges of the Appalachian system raised a considerable barrier between them and the inland country, the

[1] The general name of "the Appalachian system" is given to the succession of ranges which bear local names in different sections, including, for example, Cumberland Mountains, Alleghanies, Blue Ridge, South Mountains, Catskills, Adirondacks, Green Mountains, and White Mountains.

English settlements along the Atlantic were confined for a long period to a quite narrow coast-margin of the continent, where they grew compact and strong. The mountains were by no means impassable, even in their wilderness state. They were crossed by many Indian "trails," through many "gaps," traversed in early days by white trappers, hunters, and pioneers, and in our day they hardly check the speed of swift trains on a dozen lines of rail. But emigration beyond the mountains, on any large scale, had to wait until the climbing footpaths of the Indian could be made into some kind of rude wagon-roads, and that was a work which needed more than a century and a half. (See sections 72, 77, and 149.)

English on the coast.

2. Because the St. Lawrence River runs the course that it does, and the Great Lakes of its water system lie as they do, the French, planting themselves on the lower banks of the great stream, were led by it, around and behind the mountains, into the Mississippi Valley, as naturally as the English in the same period were kept out; and the circumstances of the conflict in America between the two peoples were shaped by that fact. (See Chapter IV. and the survey preceding it.)

French in the Valley.

3. Because the long arms of the Ohio River reach into the hills of western Virginia and Pennsylvania, that stream drew the first important movement of settlers into the great valley southwestwardly, connected them with the Mississippi, made their prosperity dependent on the freedom of its outlet to the Gulf of Mexico, so creating an urgent demand for the acquisition of territory controlling the whole river, and doing so soon enough to catch the rare opportunity which came to the young nation of the United States in 1803, when the Louisiana territory was bought from France (see section 179).

The Ohio Valley.

4. Because the most complete break in the Appalachian barrier is that made by the Mohawk and Hudson rivers, it followed that the first important highway of busy travel and traffic between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes and the Far

West was opened on that route, by the building of the Erie Canal, and New York, at the foot of the Hudson, was thus raised to the chief place among American cities.

Primacy of New York.

5. Because the climate and soil of large parts of the southern section of the country proved favorable to the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, and the sugar cane, which called for cheap labor, tending to agriculture on a large scale, it followed that negro slavery, existing in all the American colonies at first, became fixed in the structure of society at the South, but not at the North, where the rude labor of the slave could seldom be made profitable in mechanical industries, or in the wheat-fields and corn-fields of the northern farm. Wherever slavery was profitable, self-interest resisted a growing moral sentiment against it; wherever it was not, the opposing sentiment prevailed. Thus, on this subject there came to be a bitter antagonism between the two sections of the country, with the terrible consequence of civil war.

Negro Slavery.

6. But, because Nature had practically forbidden that the great valley of the Mississippi should be politically divided, and its common interests broken, the civil conflict was destructive only to that which had been its cause. Slavery perished; the national unity of the American States was reaffirmed.

Nature forbade disunion.

In many other particulars, events in American history have taken their course from causes that lie in the physical features of the country, or in conditions of climate and soil, or in both; but these, the more important, are enough to be cited in this place.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH. 1607–1688.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNINGS OF THE EARLY COLONIES. 1607–1660.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS. 1598–1635.

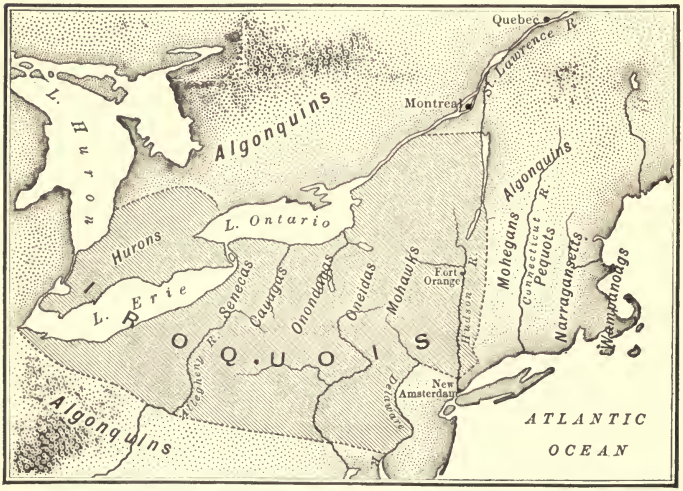
1. The French in Canada and Acadia. 1598–1635. The French were earlier by a few years than the English in renewing attempts to settle themselves and establish trade within the part of the New World that they claimed. For more than half a century after Cartier's last voyage (see page 10) the great domain called New France [1] had been treated with neglect, except by Norman and Breton fishermen, who gathered the "harvest of the sea" in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and on the Newfoundland banks. Then, in 1598 and after, under the wise rule of Henry IV., several attempts at settlement were made, promoted by various patents or grants from the king. One of them seated a colony at Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, unsuccessfully in 1605, but successfully in 1610. It was established under a grant to the Sieur de Monts, which assumed to give him a territory called Acadia, extending from the 40th degree of north latitude to the 46th.

Port Royal, 1605, 1610.

[1] Commonly signifying the whole dominion claimed by the French in North America.

Among those who joined fortunes with De Monts was Samuel de Champlain, a fine character and an able man, who became the real founder of New France. In 1608, acting with and for De Monts, he founded a settlement at Quebec, and entered there into relations with the surrounding tribes of Indians which had wide and lasting historical results. The Algonquins

Champlain, 1608-1609.



DOMAIN OF THE NORTHERN IROQUOIS.

of the St. Lawrence region were in alliance with the Hurons, immediately west of them, against the Five Nations (the Iroquoian kindred of the Hurons), who occupied what is now the State of New York (see page 20). To secure the friendship of the Hurons and Algonquins, Champlain joined their alliance, and he and his men, in 1609, took part in an invasion of the Iroquois domain, entering it by way of the lake which bears his name, and helping to defeat the warriors of the Five Nations in a battle fought where Fort Ticonderoga was afterward

built. Again and again in after years such attacks were repeated, until the Iroquois, the fiercest warriors on the continent, became deadly foes of the French. This placed them generally on the side of the English, when France and England came to blows in America (as will be told hereafter), and it had not a little to do with the result of that strife, — especially by having prevented the French from pushing southward, to occupy the valley of the Hudson, which they were eager to do.

2. French Fur Trade. — French Missions. Gold-hunting, which had ruined so many colonizing ventures, was soon discouraged in the region that the French explored; but, in fur-trading with the Indians, they found a pursuit as alluring and almost as promising of wealth. Furs, always coveted and always high-priced in Europe, were aboundingly supplied and eagerly exchanged by the northern Indians of those days for knives, hatchets, blankets, and glittering trinkets of trifling cost. The profits of the trade were large, while the methods of it were enticing to an adventurous and rude class of men. Other attractions of the Canadian country were not strong. The resources that it offered to plain industry, in its forests and its soil, received little thought for many years, and the fur trade was the one object of interest and attention in New France. The settlements created by it were small trading stations, outside of which the white population that it gave to the country was mostly a wild class of *coureurs de bois* (forest-runners or rangers), who were the middlemen in this commerce of the woods.

Coureurs de bois.

The fur trade was dependent, of course, on peaceful and friendly relations between the Indians and the whites. For that reason the red men were treated with more consideration there than elsewhere in

Treatment of Indians.

America, and French conduct toward them seems favorably in contrast with that of other whites. "Spanish civilization," says Mr. Parkman the historian, "crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him." But, so far as French and English were concerned, the difference, perhaps, was not so much between their civilizations as between their circumstances, which made the Indian a profitable neighbor in one case and a troublesome one in the other.

The interests of trade harmonized in this matter with the missionary spirit, which had its share everywhere among the motives of European colonization. The missionary societies of the Catholic church, especially that of the Jesuits, were encouraged and assisted in all ways, and they carried on among the savages of Canada a wonderful work, with a courage, an endurance, a self-sacrificing devotion, that have never been surpassed.

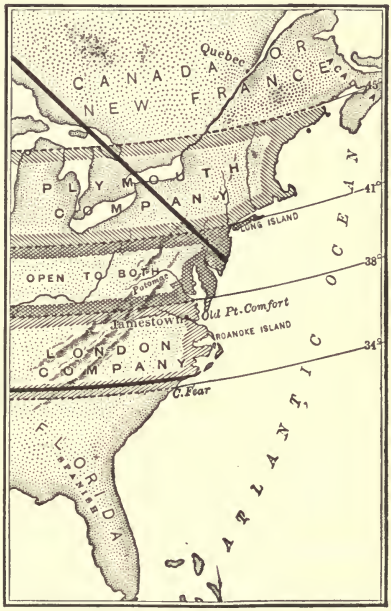
Jesuit missions.

ENGLISH BEGINNINGS IN THE SOUTH. 1606–1642.

3. The Virginia Company, in its Two Branches. 1606–1609. Three voyages to the New England coast between 1602 and 1605, by Bartholomew Gosnold, Martin Pring, and George Weymouth, represent all that was done by English enterprise in America for seventeen years after Raleigh gave up his personal efforts to win a footing for England in the New World. Then, in 1606, a great joint stock company for the colonization of the region called Virginia was formed and chartered by the king, James I. Its charter set the boundary of Virginia on the south at the 34th parallel of latitude (near Cape Fear), and on the north at the 45th (the northern boundary of Vermont), and gave a

The first charter, 1606.

hundred miles of breadth from the coast. The company receiving this extensive grant was divided into two branches, for undertakings in two parts of the great field. The branch authorized to act in the southern division of Virginian territory, with exclusive jurisdiction from the 34th parallel to the 38th, had its headquarters in London, and is known usually as the London Company; the other branch, empowered to found settlements in the north between 41° and 45°, was located in its management at Plymouth, and is spoken of as the Plymouth Company. This division of territory left a zone of three degrees between the fields of the two companies, which was to be open to both, on terms that were expected to put them in competition for the territorial prize.



GRANT OF 1606 TO THE VIRGINIA COMPANY IN ITS TWO BRANCHES, AND GRANT OF 1609 TO THE LONDON COMPANY.

[Boundaries of the grant of 1606 are shown by dotted lines; heavy black lines mark the grant of 1609 as it was construed by the Virginians of later times, furnishing the ground of their claim to a vast territory in the Northwest.]

In a subsequent charter, issued in 1609, the definition of the territory of the London Company was somewhat changed. This time jurisdiction was given "from sea

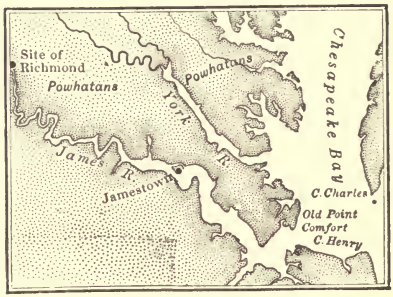
to sea, west and northwest," over a strip of the continent having Old Point Comfort for its middle on the coast and measuring two hundred miles in each direction therefrom. The grant "from sea to sea" will not startle us if we remember that the continent was then supposed to be a narrow body of land; but the expression "west and northwest" is not easily understood. Virginians in later times construed it to mean that their northern boundary ran northwestwardly, and they founded thereon the claim to a vast domain in the northwest (see sections **78** and **141**).

The second charter, 1609.

4. The James River Colony of the London Branch. 1607–1609. Both branches of the chartered company sent out colonists in 1607. Those sent by the Plymouth organization attempted a settlement (known as the Popham Colony) at the mouth of the Kennebec River, in what is now the State of Maine, and failed entirely, returning home in the following spring. The undertaking of the colonists from London, who went south to the James River, became successful in the end, but was barely saved from ruin at the beginning by the energy and capability of one man, the famous Captain John Smith. In saying this we trust his own remarkable story, which some recent historians have discredited; for, while it is unfortunately a fact that Captain Smith — strong in character as he was, resolute, fearless, sagacious, high-minded, generous, clean in life and plain in speech — did have a magnifying memory and a boastful pen, yet, as Dr. John Fiske has shown very clearly, there are more and stronger reasons for accepting than for rejecting the romantic incidents of his tale. Smith stayed with the Jamestown colonists little more than two years. His firm hand and commanding influence kept order among them and enforced a

Captain John Smith.

fair treatment of the neighboring Indians, on whom the thriftless whites were dependent for supplies of corn. No sooner was he gone than the savages were provoked to hostility, and a terrible "starving time" ensued, in the winter and spring of 1609, when all but 60 out of the 500 colonists died.



THE JAMES RIVER COLONY.

In 1609 the London Company underwent a great change, being much enlarged in numbers and strengthened in capital, having many powerful persons and city guilds added to its membership list. The company was then made a corporation, distinct from the Plymouth Company, with a new charter, as stated above. All the powers of government over the colony were vested in a supreme council at London, whose authority was to be exercised in Virginia by a governor responsible to none but itself. Under the autocratic government thus established a more orderly condition of things was brought about, and the colony became able to sustain itself.

Reorganization of London Company, 1609.

5. Tobacco Culture. — Prosperity. — Disaster. 1612–1624. Before many years the James River colony began to see its way to a prosperous career. It had found something better than gold mines, in the cultivation of an herb which, since America was discovered, all the world had been learning to smoke. The natives of the West Indies taught the Spaniards, the Spaniards taught their neighbors, Raleigh's colonists took lessons in the

strange fumigation from the Indians of Roanoke, Drake picked it up, among other things, in his voyages, and so the smoking of tobacco got to England and elsewhere in more than one way. It was coming to be a fashion in the early years of the seventeenth century, and when the colonists in Virginia, about 1612, took a hint from Indian gardens, and found that the plant could be cultivated, their crop met an eager demand. The culture proved exceedingly profitable; Virginia was made attractive by it to a better class of settlers than those obtained before, and the fortunes of the colony became secure.

Tobacco smoking.

A change in the character and views of the London Company, even more important than this change in the circumstances of the colony, was going on. In 1619 the control of the company was won for a time by a party of men who were leaders in the beginning of a great struggle of the English people with their kings for constitutional rights, and it had political results of importance, which will be described in another place (see section **23**).

Reformers in the London Company, 1619-1624.

The settlements in Virginia were now multiplying fast, spreading up and down the peninsula between the James and York rivers, and in 1622 it was estimated that the whole population numbered 4000 souls. For years they had had little trouble with the Indians, and they were ceasing to feel any fear. The savages saw their carelessness and were encouraged to strike a sudden murderous blow, which they did on the 22d of March, 1622. Of the scattered colonists, 347 men, women, and children were slain that day; then forces were rallied which checked the massacre, and retaliated with a fierceness that awed the red men for a score of years.

Indian outbreak, 1622.

The shock and the hurt to the colony from this disaster were not easily repaired. Many plantations were abandoned, many settlers returned to England, and the enemies of the company, foremost among them the king, were given a fresh ground of attack. Proceedings to rescind its charter were begun the next year, and by a decision of the Court of King's Bench, on the 16th of June, 1624, the charter was declared to be "null and void." Thereupon the London Company ceased to exist, and Virginia became subject to the direct authority of the king.

Overthrow of the London Company.

6. The Founding of Maryland. 1632–1638. In 1632 an extraordinary patent was issued by Charles I. (who succeeded his father, James I., in 1625), conferring on Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, the "prerogatives," the "royal rights and franchises," of sovereignty over a large part of what the Virginians considered their domain. It covered the region between the Potomac and the Delaware Bay and River, up to the 40th parallel of north latitude, creating a principality of the kind known as "palatine" (see sect. **28**). This palatinate was to be called Maryland, in honor of the queen of Charles I. It had been promised to George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, the father of Cecilius, but he died before the patent was signed, and it went to his son. Father and son had recently entered the Catholic church, and their object was to establish a place of refuge in America for people of that communion, who were cruelly treated by English laws. The elder Calvert had attempted this first, under a similar grant, in Newfoundland, but thought the climate too severe.

Lord Baltimore's palatinate.

The settlement of Maryland was begun in the spring of 1634, by a company of English immigrants, both Catholic and Protestant, led by Leonard Calvert, brother

of Cecilius, who selected their home at St. Mary's, on the river of that name. St. Mary's was then an Indian village, with corn-fields in fair cultivation, all of which were bought from the resident tribe, and the growing of corn received attention at once. Other immigrants followed, other settlements were founded, and the colony grew apace, Catholics and Protestants living peacefully together, equally free in their worship of God. The same religious freedom was established in those same years by Roger Williams, on Narragansett Bay, but it existed nowhere else. Political liberty, also, was intended by Lord Baltimore, who planned for it with a generous mind. All the freemen of the colony were called together as early as 1635, to sit in assembly with the governor (Leonard Calvert) and his council and take part in the preparation of a body of laws. In 1638 the colonists began to elect delegates to the Assembly, instead of meeting *en masse*, and representative government in Maryland was fairly on foot.

FIRST SETTLEMENT IN MARYLAND.

Religious and political liberty.

The early years of the Maryland colony were full of conflicts with the Virginians, who disputed its right to the territory it held, but we cannot go into the long story of those disputes.

BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND. 1620–1642.

7. First Settlement in New England. — The Pilgrim Fathers. 1620. For several years after the abandonment of the Popham settlement on the Kennebec, little attention was given in England to the northern part of the vast territory covered by King James's grant. The first to revive interest in North Virginia, as that region was then called, was the adventurous Captain John Smith, who obtained help from English merchants, in 1614, to equip an expedition to its coast for exploration and trade. One result of the captain's careful survey was a very good map of the coast (see Map III.), which he presented to Prince Charles (afterward King Charles I.), with the suggestion that the country represented be named New England. Two years later he wrote and published "A Description of New England," in which the settlement of the region was strongly urged.

Captain John Smith's survey and "Description," 1614-1616.

By this time the value of the fisheries, the fur trade, and the timber of New England had been learned; but, harsh in climate as the country was, and generally poor in soil, such attractions as it had were of a kind that would naturally, in that day, have drawn none but settlers of an adventurous class, like those of New France. If New England was to be populated by domestic folk, wanting homes and farms, some other inducement would be needed to bring them across the sea. Such another inducement did come into play, with powerful and memorable effects. It arose from the sore want in England of freedom for all religious beliefs that differed from the doctrines and forms of the established church. There was less of such freedom, in some respects, under the Stuart kings, than in Queen Elizabeth's reign; and the

Protestant body which suffered most from the persecuting laws of the time was that of the Separatists, or Independents, who claimed the right of each church congregation to govern itself (see page 14). To escape the persecution, a small society of the Separatists, formed at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, left England in 1608 and took refuge in Holland; but their thoughts became turned toward America, and they arranged with the London Company for a grant of land on the Delaware River, and for assistance in settling there. The pathetic story of the memorable voyage of these "Pilgrim Fathers" (and Mothers) of New England, in the leaky ship Speedwell, from Delft to Southampton, and in the Mayflower from Southampton and Plymouth to a landing which they did not intend, in Cape Cod Bay instead of the Delaware River, is so familiar that it need not be repeated here.

The Scrooby congregation, 1608-1620.

The voyage of the Mayflower, Sept.-Dec., 1620.

8. The Plymouth Colony. 1620–1630. The first landing of explorers from the Mayflower, in the harbor which John Smith had named Plymouth, is believed to have been made on Monday, the 21st of December, 1620 (according to the reckoning of the New Style), though the 22d has been the anniversary long observed. It was the middle of January before the company in general left the ship. Comfortable house shelter was impossible; many had sickened in the overcrowded and long-buffeted ship; the cold was severe; food was neither plentiful nor good. The sufferings of that winter are beyond imagination, even though we know that 44 out of 102 died before the end of March. Happily the weak settlement suffered no attacks from neighboring Indians, who are supposed to have been affrighted by a fearful pestilence which visited them three years

The first winter.

before, just after they had killed two or three white fishermen on the coast. Not an Indian came near the settlement for some months; then one Samoset, who had picked up a little English from fishing ships, appeared, and intercourse with the Wampanoag tribe was opened through him. Kind treatment won the confidence of the red men, and their sachem, Massasoit, entered into an agreement of friendship which was kept unbroken for more than fifty years.

In the course of the next year the colonists received sanction from England for their occupancy of the ground on which circumstances had planted them against their will. The so-called Plymouth Company had then been reorganized and renamed as "The Council for New England," and had received a new patent, giving it jurisdiction over territory that spanned the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, between the 40th and 48th degrees. Its grant for the Pilgrim settlement was made to a merchant company, in trust for the colonists, who paid rent for their lands during several years, but were able at length to buy the ground on which they lived. By heavy toil, with great hardships and privations, they gradually made themselves fairly comfortable in their new home, and were joined by a few later comers from Leyden and England; but their growth in numbers was so slow that they counted no more than three hundred at the end of ten years.

Council for New England.

Slow growth of colony.

In those ten years many English people engaged in fishing on the coasts of New England, and several attempts at settlement were made, with little or no result. Numerous grants were obtained from the Council for New England, by companies and individuals, and these were so carelessly or ignorantly defined that they often

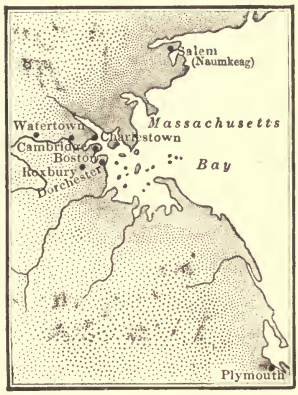
overlapped and conflicted with one another, causing troublesome disputes in after years.

9. The Puritans in England. 1625–1630. Meantime affairs in England were taking a course which led, at the close of the period in question, to a sudden movement of Puritan emigration, so extensive that strong colonies in New England were formed. King Charles I., more despotic in disposition than even his father had been, seemed likely at that time to succeed in breaking down the resistance of his subjects and making his own will supreme. He drove Parliament from its meeting-place in 1629, and for eleven years after that date the representation of the people in their government was suppressed. They were unlawfully taxed; the patriots who opposed the king were imprisoned unlawfully; the oppression became in every way intolerable; but in nothing else so much as in the king's attempt to force everybody to worship God in the mode which his own opinion approved. The views called Puritan, which have been described already (see page 14), had spread very widely by this time, and seem to have been held by a majority of the clergy and a large part of the laity of the established church. But a minority, supported by the king and the courts, were able to enforce church ceremonies which the Puritan majority abhorred. Most of those who stood up against the oppressions of the king, and strove for the constitutional rights of the people, were of the Puritan class, and were moved even more by religious than by political feeling.

10. Emigration and Settlement of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. 1629–1637. By 1628 many Puritans were regarding their prospects in England with despair, and were looking toward America, as the Independents had done ten years before.

A grant from the Council for New England was obtained by John Endicott and five others, giving them the territory from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles, with the usual stretch from sea to sea. Endicott went out that same summer, with sixty others, to take possession of the grant, and joined a little settlement already made, called Naumkeag, which then took the name of Salem and has borne it since. In 1629 this scheme of colonization was broadened out. Endicott's joint stock company of six grantees became a large corporation, embracing many men of importance and wealth. Under the name of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," it obtained a royal charter, drawn in such terms that, by shrewd and bold management, a degree of independence which the king had not dreamed of was secured. The company could add to its membership without limit, and its ruling body, consisting of a governor, a deputy-governor, and twelve assistants, received authority to make such laws as it might deem needful, provided only that they "be not contrary or repugnant" to the laws of England. No place in which its powers should be exercised was named, and a right to transfer the charter and government from England to New England was assumed. When, therefore, a large party of eight hundred Puritan colonists sailed from Yarmouth in the spring of 1630, their

Settlement of Salem.



THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS.

Removal of charter and government to America.

charter, their governor (John Winthrop), and other officers, went with them to the shores of Massachusetts Bay.

This party took residence first on the northern side of Charles River, naming the place Charlestown, but soon scattered, the greater number settling on the peninsula called Shawmut, where Boston was founded and became the chief town. Others from England followed the pioneers of the Puritan migration, in such numbers that nearly 4000 are believed to have been settled, in a score of villages around Massachusetts Bay, by the year 1634.

Settlement of Boston.

It was impossible for the colony to have so rapid and so prosperous a growth, and to show the political freedom that it did from the beginning, without provoking hostility in England, and its enemies were not slow to act. Controlling the Council for New England, they gave up the charter of that corporation, on condition that all its grants should be revoked by the king, and that New England should be parceled out afresh. Laud, the bigoted archbishop of Canterbury, was put at the head of a commission to superintend colonial affairs. The Massachusetts company was commanded to surrender its charter, and proceedings against it were begun in the English courts. But, fortunately, the conflict in England between king and parliament came then to a stage which emboldened Massachusetts to disobey the command. Thereafter, Laud and the king and all their party had enough to think of at home, and their designs against New England came to naught.

Hostility in England, 1635-1637.

11. Enlightenment and Intolerance in the Massachusetts Colony. 1635–1647. These threatenings from England made no stay in the prosperous progress of the colony. Two very different tendencies in the character of its people, toward breadth of mind in one

direction and narrowness in another, were being shown at this time. We have evidence of the first in the Public Latin School of Boston, opened in 1635, and in Harvard College, founded in the following year. Other public schools rose rapidly in the surrounding towns, and in 1647 the legislature of the colony, styled the "general court," enacted an ordinance which has been called with truth "the great charter of free education" in Massachusetts. "That learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers, in church and commonwealth," it said, "the Lord assisting our endeavors, it is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read."

Harvard College and public schools, 1635-1647.

Ordinance of 1647.

At the same time, while sowing the seeds of free thought, by planting free schools, the Massachusetts Puritans were striving, in a narrow way, to make their own religious opinions the absolute law of their little state. Their first step in that direction was taken when all save members of their churches were excluded from the "freedom" of the "body politic," — that is, from a voice and vote in public affairs (see sect. **25**).

Restriction of the franchise.

12. Secession from Massachusetts Bay. — The Founding of Connecticut. 1635–1638. Opposition to this exclusion was one, apparently, among several causes of discontent which brought about a movement of secession and emigration to the valley of the Connecticut. The movement was begun by a few pioneers in 1635, and they were followed by a large party, led by Thomas Hooker, minister of the church at Newtown (afterward

Cambridge), in the next year. There were several claimants of that beautiful valley at the time. The Dutch had tried to seize it; men from Plymouth had built a trading fort on the river; Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele, in England, held a grant which covered it, and the agent of those noblemen, John Winthrop the younger, son of the Massachusetts governor, had built a fort that he called Saybrook, at the mouth of the river. At a later day the settlers from Massachusetts made terms with the holders of this grant. Their first settlements were at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, where about 800 people were living in the spring of 1637, under a government organized more democratically than that from which they had removed (see sect. **26**).

First settlements.

BEGINNINGS OF CONNECTICUT.

In that year the Connecticut colony was already so strong that it bore the brunt of the first serious war in New England between the red men and the white. Some murders of white traders by Pequot Indians had been avenged by Massachusetts with a savageness that enraged the tribe. Its retaliations fell mostly on the settlers in Connecticut, and, though the latter could put less than 100 fighting men into the field, against 1000 braves, they fell upon the tribe and practically destroyed it in a brief campaign. With the help of a small company from Massachusetts and a few

The Pequot War, 1637.

friendly Indians, they surprised the Pequots in their stronghold, hunted them down without mercy, and left but a wretched remnant, some of whom were captured and enslaved.

In the next year after the Pequot War (1638) another settlement within the later bounds of Connecticut was started, at New Haven, by a wealthy company from England, London merchants and others, of the Puritan class, accompanied by their minister, John Davenport. This grew very soon into a colony of several confederated towns, with a government formed on a "Fundamental Agreement," as it was styled (see sect. **26**).

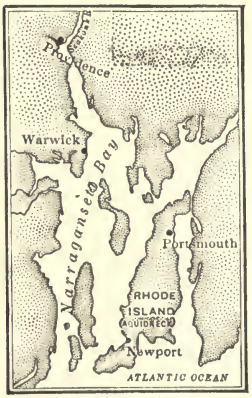
Colony of New Haven, 1638.

13. The Founding of Providence. — Beginnings of Rhode Island. 1636–1637. The exclusive Puritanism in Massachusetts which sent Thomas Hooker and his followers away from Charles River to a new settlement on the Connecticut was driving forth, in that same year (1636), another pastor, of even larger mind and loftier spirit, to make him the founder of still another colony, that would be in due time another American State. This was Roger Williams, who came to Boston as a young divine in 1631. He began soon to give expression to opinions that offended the Puritans in power. He contended for the perfect freedom of religious opinion ("soul-liberty," as he called it) which is common now in most parts of the world, but which few people in his day could think of as a possible thing. He held that civil governments should have nothing to do with the doctrines, ceremonies, or maintenance of any church. He denied the right of the king of England to give away lands in America, and condemned the taking of such lands without purchase from

Opinions of Rogers Williams, 1631-1637.

the Indians as a flagrant wrong.[1] He was beyond his age in many such views. The authorities in Boston looked upon him as a troublesome agitator, and, when he was called to a church in Salem that approved his preaching, their hostility pursued him, until he withdrew to Plymouth, where he remained for nearly two years. Returning to his pulpit in Salem, he gave offence again to the rulers of Massachusetts Bay. In January, 1636, they ordered that he should be sent to England on a ship then preparing to sail; but he escaped from them by going into the wild forest, among the Indians, whose language he had learned and whose friendship he had won. He made his way to the head of Narragansett Bay, where, being joined by faithful friends from Salem, he founded a settlement called Providence (see sect. **27**), on ground fairly bought from the Indians, with whom a "covenant of peaceful neighborhood" was entered into and enduringly kept.

Persecution of Roger Williams in Massachusetts.



FIRST SETTLEMENTS ON NARRAGANSETT BAY.

14. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy. 1636–1638. In 1638 another settlement in the neighborhood of Providence was founded by another band of exiles from Massachusetts Bay. They were followers of Mrs. Anne

[1] The ground first occupied by the settlers on Massachusetts Bay had not been bought from the natives; but lands acquired subsequently for the extension of the settlement are said to have been bargained and paid for. Palfrey, *History of New England*, iii. 137.

Hutchinson, a remarkable woman, who had been lecturing in Boston and causing great religious excitement by doctrines which a majority of the ministers and rulers condemned. A strong party had been won to her support, including the governor of that year,[1] Sir Henry or Sir Harry Vane, who had lately come from England, and who returned there the next year, to become an important actor in the momentous events of the time. The doctrines in dispute, called "Antinomian," we will not try to explain; it is enough to note the consequences of the dispute. The opponents of Mrs. Hutchinson carried the day, and she and some of her adherents were banished from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. Some went with her and her husband to the island of Aquidneck, in Narragansett Bay, which they bought from the Indians, and which got the name of Rhode Island, though they intended that it should be called the Isle of Rhodes. Two settlements were formed, at Portsmouth and Newport, and a few years later (1644–47) these, together with another settlement at Warwick, on Narragansett Bay, were united with that of Roger Williams in the "Colony of Providence Plantations," under a patent which Williams went to England to obtain.

Sir Henry Vane.

Early Rhode Island settlements, 1638.

Other companies of the friends and followers of Mrs. Hutchinson went northward and settled in towns which became the Exeter and Dover of New Hampshire.

15. New England in 1640. In 1642 the strife in England between king and Parliament came to an out-

[1] John Winthrop had been reëlected governor each year until 1634, when Thomas Dudley was chosen. In 1635 John Haynes was elected; in 1636 the office was given to Vane. The next year Winthrop was returned to it and held it until 1649, except during two years — 1641 and 1645.

break of civil war. The great Puritan party had grown strong enough to feel sure of success in breaking the tyranny of royal power, and the chief motives of emigration to New England had nearly died out. After 1639 not many of that party crossed the sea. In 1640 the New England population is believed to have numbered about 26,000, and it had taken root already in five of the six States formed at a later day. Even Maine, which had been granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as well as New Hampshire, claimed by Captain John Mason, contained a few germs of settlement within its bounds. More than half of the whole population was in Massachusetts, where a score of towns were growing up, all in the eastern section save Springfield, on the Connecticut River. Plymouth had planted a few other towns in its neighborhood, but the total of inhabitants did not exceed 3000. Connecticut contained about the same number; the New Haven settlements somewhat less.

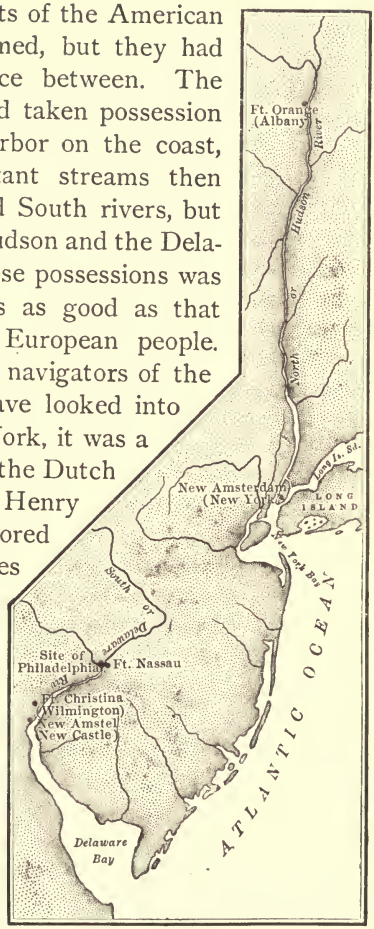
Decrease in emigration.

16. Confederation of four New England Colonies. 1643. In 1643 these four substantial colonies formed a league, or loose confederacy, called "The United Colonies of New England." The main purpose of the union was a common defence, not only against Indian enemies, but also against the Dutch settlements growing up on the Hudson and the French on the north, both of which were giving rise to some fear. The Narragansett settlements were refused admission to the league. The fact that this confederacy was formed without authority from England marks the independent, self-reliant feeling that the New England colonies had already acquired.

Dutch Settlements. 1610–1655.

17. The Dutch on the Hudson and the Delaware. 1609–1655. The English were now securely settled in

two widely separated parts of the American territory that they claimed, but they had lost control of the space between. The Dutch had slipped in and taken possession of the most valuable harbor on the coast, and of the two important streams then known as the North and South rivers, but afterwards named the Hudson and the Delaware. Their hold on those possessions was firm, and their title was as good as that acquired by any other European people. Though Cabot and other navigators of the sixteenth century may have looked into the noble bay of New York, it was a mariner in the service of the Dutch East India Company, Henry Hudson, who first explored the fine river which empties there and discovered the importance of the place. He did this in 1609, while searching for the imagined "northwestern passage" to a sea beyond. His discovery was followed quickly by action at Amsterdam to occupy the ground. A station or factory for traffic with the Indians was established on the island of Manhattan in 1610; the neighboring coast, eastward to Cape Cod and southward to Delaware Bay, was promptly explored and mapped; the whole region was named New



EARLY DUTCH SETTLEMENTS.

Netherland, and the company which mapped and named it received an exclusive privilege of trade from the government of Holland in 1614. In the same year a trading post called Fort Nassau was established up the North River; but this was abandoned five years later and another, called Fort Orange, was built where the city of Albany now stands. Friendly relations with the Five Nations of the Iroquois were cultivated from the first, and with lasting effect.

Albany founded, 1619.

In 1621 the original trading company was superseded by a great corporation, styled the West India Company, chartered with "almost unlimited powers to colonize, govern, and defend New Netherland."[1] The new company built a fort called Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, in 1623, and sent out 30 families of its servants, who were engaged in the conduct of its trade. In that year it built, also, a fort on the Delaware (or South River), opposite the site of Philadelphia, and began the construction of another on the Connecticut, where Hartford stands. Thus the energetic Hollanders made preparations to hold the two extremities of the territory that they claimed. On the New England side they were opposed by the Connecticut colonists, who proved too strong for them and forced them back; but they established their footing on the Delaware (1655) after a struggle with the Swedes, who founded a settlement there, at and around Wilmington, in 1638.

West India Company.

Swedes on the Delaware, 1638-1655.

18. Ill Government of the Dutch Colony. In 1626 the company bought the island of Manhattan from the Indians, and its settlement, named New Amsterdam, soon became a thriving seat of the fur trade — the most important outside of New France. Good government

[1] Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, v. i. ch. 3.

might have given the colony a brilliant career; for, looking both seaward and landward, the advantages of its position were very great. But the government of New Netherland was not of the kind that would build up a vigorous colonial state. For some reason the Dutch failed to carry the free spirit of their home government with them into the colonies they founded in other parts of the world. Even the inhabitants of the growing town of New Amsterdam had no voice in the management of their own municipal affairs for more than forty years after its settlement was begun. The governors sent out by the West India Company were autocrats, under almost no restraint. Two of them, Wouter (Walter) Van Twiller and William Kieft, who ruled the colony in an important period, from 1632 till 1647, were men of little character or sense. The latter abused the neighboring Indians, of Algonquian tribes, with brutal recklessness, and provoked a terrible war (1641–44). After the colony had endured his senseless tyranny for ten years, it got a hearing for its complaints and he was removed, giving place to a fiery old soldier, Peter Stuyvesant, who was more of a despot than his predecessors, but dignified his autocracy by high qualities of a strong character which commanded respect. The reign of Stuyvesant lasted until the colony was taken from the Dutch.

Van Twiller and Kieft, 1632-1647.

Peter Stuyvesant, 1647-1664.

THE COLONIES DURING THE OVERTHROW OF MONARCHY IN ENGLAND. 1642–1660.

19. Civil War in England. — Its Effect on the Colonies. 1642–1649. In 1642 the conflict between the king and his party, called Cavaliers, and the Puritan party of the Parliament and people, called Roundheads, came to an outbreak of civil war. This produced a con-

fusion and weakening of government which left the colonies in practical independence for some years. Until that time the crown had exercised sole sovereignty over all colonial possessions, without any parliamentary legislation, and its right to do so had never been denied. Now, the royal authority was about to be extinguished for a period, by the result of the war, and meantime the colonies were reached by no authority that could really be enforced. In 1643 Parliament created a Board of Commissioners to superintend colonial affairs, and thus asserted its right to legislate for all the dominions of the English crown; but the Board had little power.

In 1649 the king, defeated in the war, was tried by the victorious party of his long-abused subjects, was condemned, and was put to death. A republican government was then established, for what took the name of the Commonwealth of England; but this existed no longer than four years. Then Oliver Cromwell, supported by the army, took the reins of government into his own hands, with the title of Lord Protector, and for the next five years he exercised an authority more dictatorial than the late king had ever claimed.

Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1658.

20. Substantial Independence of New England. 1642–1660. The New England colonists were naturally in sympathy with the party that triumphed in the English civil war; but they were none the less disposed to gain all possible independence for themselves from the state of political confusion into which the mother country had been brought. The late king's charter to the Massachusetts colonists was supposed to furnish the ground on which they were building up a political community in the New World. Theoretically they had been his subjects, not as being

New England during the civil war.

part of the English nation, under crown and Parliament, but as being a chartered community in another dominion of the king, across the sea. Practically, their subjection to the king had been made very slight by the troubles in England which weakened his power and drew his attention away. Consequently, they had been able to act with almost the freedom of a sovereign people, from the first. Those who went away from them to the Connecticut valley had assumed even more of self-sovereignty, when they framed a constitution for themselves (see sect. **26**); and the four leading colonies were fairly stepping into political independence when they formed a federal union (see sect. **16**), with no consent asked for or given from the other side of the sea. This substantial independence they were determined to keep unimpaired if they could.

Subjection to the crown.

The attitude of New England was shown with plainness in 1651, when Parliament demanded a surrender of the royal charter of Massachusetts, and ordered the colony to take a new one from the parliamentary commission created in 1643. No answer to the demand went from Boston for more than a year; then it was given in the form of a courteous memorial, setting forth reasons why Massachusetts preferred to keep her old charter unchanged.

Demands of Parliament.

But the written answer of Massachusetts to Parliament did not, perhaps, express so much of her feeling of independence as was manifested in another proceeding of that same year (1652). This was the setting up of a mint for the coining of silver money, to supply a pressing need of colonial trade. All the colonies had been suffering from the want of a standard of value and a medium of exchange. They had been forced to use the "wampum" or "peage" money

A Massachusetts mint, 1652.

of the Indians, made of shell beads, strung and woven into ornamental belts. They had likewise used beaver-skins and corn for a measure of value, and tobacco, in Virginia, was the only money known. In the palatinate of Maryland, the almost vice-royal proprietor had authority from his charter to coin money; but that, being a special attribute of sovereignty, had not been conferred upon the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. They boldly took it, however, on themselves, and the "pine tree shillings"[1] which their mint began to issue might fairly be taken for an announcement that Massachusetts esteemed herself to be a practically independent state.

Early money.

21. Persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts. 1656–1660. Massachusetts lost its able governor, John Winthrop, in 1649, and John Endicott was governor for all but two of the next fifteen years. Those were years in the history of the colony on which a barbarous persecution of the pure and peaceful Christian sect called Friends or Quakers has left a black stain. The Quakers were disciples of George Fox, then preaching in England. They were required by their belief to "testify," without regard to consequences, against many things in churches and governments, and to do it very often in rude and provoking ways. No punishment — death least of all — could keep them from the doing of this duty, as they conceived it to be. They were going forth from England at this time to preach their doctrines in many parts of the world, and they suffered persecution in many places, but nowhere else so unmercifully as in Massachusetts, which their

Rude ways of the Quakers.

[1] So called from the figure of a pine tree, stamped on the face of the coin, with the name of the colony, in one of its old forms, "Masathusets," circled round it.

first missionaries reached in 1656. That year they were only imprisoned and banished. The next year, under a special law, they suffered whipping, in addition, and sometimes the cutting of their ears. When those penalties failed to keep them out of Boston, the magistrates and clergy persuaded the General Court to pass a law (1658) inflicting death. Under that dreadful law, in 1659 and 1660, three men and one woman were hanged. Then public feeling put a stop to the horrible work. The lesser punishments went on for some years, but no more of the dauntless Quakers were put to death. In the milder fashion they suffered persecution in all the New England colonies except Rhode Island, which was true to the tolerant principles of Roger Williams and refused to join in hunting them down.

Persecution in New England.

22. Virginia and Maryland during and after the English Civil War. 1642–1657. In Virginia, during and after the English civil war, the prevalent feeling was in sympathy with the cause of the king. For three years after the execution of King Charles, an unsubmissive royalist governor, Sir William Berkeley, held his ground at Jamestown, undisturbed. It was not until 1652 that Parliament sent over a fleet, with commissioners, who seated a new governor in Berkeley's place, leaving the colonial government otherwise untouched. In the next year the Lord Protector Cromwell grasped authority in England, and the Cavalier colony was discreetly submissive to his rule.

Maryland was more disturbed than Virginia by the strife in England, becoming the scene of a fierce struggle for several years. In the beginning its proprietor, Lord Baltimore, espoused the king's cause. Later, he cultivated the good-will of the opposite party, appointing a Protestant gentleman, William Stone, to be governor,

and embodying a great enlargement of the policy of religious toleration in a famous act which he drew up, and which was passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1649. In 1652 the same parliamentary commissioners who displaced Governor Berkeley in Virginia entered Maryland and annulled the authority of its palatine lord. With the help of the Puritan new settlers in Maryland (see sect. **31**), they deposed Governor Stone, set up a provisional government, and filled a new Assembly with Puritans, by not allowing Catholics to vote or to hold seats. The body thus made up was so shameless as to alter the Toleration Act of 1649, by excepting "popery, prelacy [that is, episcopacy], and licentiousness of opinion" from the beliefs and practices that should be free. A state of fierce civil war in the colony ensued, in which the Puritans triumphed (1655); but Cromwell frowned on their proceedings, and they were forced in the end (1657) to come to terms with Lord Baltimore. His government, and with it the Toleration Act of 1649, was restored.

The Toleration Act, 1649.

In 1658 Cromwell died, and a state of things followed in England which made the people willing to restore their ancient monarchy, by calling the late king's elder son from exile and seating him on the throne (1660).

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

1. The French in Canada and Acadia.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Beginnings of French settlement. 2. The territory called Acadia. Parkman, *Pioneers*, chs. ii.–v.; Winsor, *America*, iv. 135–145; Winsor, *Cartier*, ch. iv.; Bourinot, ch. v.; Roberts, 18–22.

3. Champlain. — His Indian alliance and its lasting consequences. Parkman, *Pioneers*, chs. ii.–iv., ix.–xvii.; Winsor, *America*, iv. ch. iii.; Winsor, *Cartier*, chs. v.–vii.; Higginson, 127–136; Bourinot, chs. vi.–viii.; Roberts, 22–45.

2. The French Fur Trade. — French Missions.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Importance of the fur trade. 2. Character of the white population that it attracted. 3. French treatment of the Indians as affected by the fur trade. Parkman, *Old Régime*, 303–315; Bourinot, ch. xii.; Weeden, i. 129; Thwaites, 17–19, 48–49.

4. French missions and missionaries in America. Parkman, *Jesuits;* Winsor, *America*, iv. ch. vi.; Winsor, *Cartier*, 129–161; Bourinot, ch. ix.; Higginson, 120–127.

3. The Virginia Company in its Two Branches.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Three early voyages to the New England coast. 2. Chartering of the Virginia Company (text in MacDonald, i. 11–17; Preston, 1–13). 3. Boundaries of the region called Virginia. 4. Division of the territory between two branches of the company. Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 55–67; Doyle, i. 134–149; Fisher, 30–34; Thwaites, 65–69.

5. Change in grant to the branch called the London Company (text in MacDonald, i. 11–17; Preston, 14–21). 6. Doubtful description of its new boundary. 7. Claims founded on it by Virginians in later times. See references in sections 78 and 141.

RESEARCH. — Which of the present States of the American Union were covered or partly covered by the first grant to the Virginia Company? On what ground could the European nations which first "discovered" different parts of the American continent, already inhabited by red men, assume a right to take possession of them?

4. The James River Colony of the London Branch.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Failure of the Popham settlement on the Kennebec. Palfrey, i. 83–85; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 70, 71.

2. The James River colony of the London Company. 3. Services and character of Captain John Smith. — Credibility of his story. John Smith, *Works*, 305–488; Stith, 42–107; A. Brown, *First Republic*, preface; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 71–79, 80–143, 151–159; Doyle, i. 149–166; Higginson, 141–151; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 209–218.

4. Change in the London Company. — Its powers of government over the colony. Doyle, i. 167–177; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 144–147.

RESEARCH. — The fate of Jamestown, the first settlement in Virginia.

5. Tobacco Culture. — Prosperity. — Disaster.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Prosperity on James River resulting from tobacco culture. Bruce, i. 51, 52, 160–165, 210–212, 254, 255, 262–270; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 174–177; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 288–291, 307–310; Eggleston, *Beginners*, 84–86.

2. Important political change in the London Company. See references in section 23.

3. Spread of settlements between James and York rivers. 4. Murderous outbreak of Indians. 5. Overthrow of the charter of the London Company. Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 189, 190, 201–222; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 225–233.

RESEARCH. — Spanish influence at the English court against the London Company. Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 194–196. — With what kings did the English people carry on the struggle for constitutional rights that is referred to in this section?

6. The Founding of Maryland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Grant to Lord Baltimore of territory taken from Virginia (text in Preston, 63–77; MacDonald, i. 53–59).

2. His "palatine" principality. See references in section 28.

3. Object of Lord Baltimore in obtaining the grant. 4. Beginning of the settlement of Maryland. 5. Religious and political freedom in the Maryland colony. W. H. Browne, ch. ii.; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 265–275; Doyle, i. 367–387; Lodge, *Short Hist.*, 93–100; Drake, *Making Va.*, 66–79; Fisher, 62–67.

RESEARCH. — The harsh treatment of Catholics in England at this period. Eggleston, *Beginners*, 236–239.

7. First Settlement in New England. — The Pilgrim Fathers.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Mapping and naming of New England by Captain John Smith. Winsor, *America*, iii. 179, 180; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 77–79; Palfrey, i. 92–98; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 313–318; *O. S. Leaf.*, 121.

2. The influence which brought colonists to the region. 3. Migration of the "Pilgrim Fathers." 4. Their religious denomination and its claims. Palfrey, i. 126–163; Winsor, *America*, iii. chs. vii.–viii.. Walker, chs. i.–iii.; Dexter, chs. i.–xvi.; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 70–77, 79–82; Eggleston, *Beginners*, 141–181; Doyle, ii. 14–68; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 167–170, 340–348.

8. The Plymouth Colony.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Sufferings and trials of the Pilgrim settlement. 2. Their relations with the Indians. 3. Creation of the Council for New England (text in MacDonald, i. 23–33).

4. Its grant of land to the Pilgrim colony (text in MacDonald, i. 51–53).

5. Slow growth of the colony. Palfrey, i. chs. v.–vi.; Dexter, chs. xvii.–xxv.; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 82–87; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 349–359.

RESEARCH. — Other attempts at settlement in New England between 1620 and 1630. Palfrey, i. ch. vi.; Drake, *Making N. E.*, 104–141. In what circumstances was the Plymouth branch of the Virginia Company reorganized and rechartered, as the Council for New England? Fisher, 84–85.

9. The Puritans in England.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Despotic attempts of Charles I. in England. 2. Spreading of the views called "Puritan." Green, ch. viii. sects. 1 and 5; Winsor, *America*, iii. ch. vii.; Walker, 76–94; Palfrey, i. ch. vii.; Eggleston, *Beginners*, 192–196; Larned, *England*, 379–384.

RESEARCH. — What is an "established church"? — Is there any such church in the United States? — Is there now an established church in England? — Did the distinction between Puritans and Independents, in their church organization, disappear after the former came to New England? Walker, ch. iv.

10. Emigration and Settlement of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Cause of the emigration. Green, ch. viii. sect. 4.

2. Grant of territory to John Endicott and others. — Endicott's settlement. 3. Chartering of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." Remarkable degree of independence secured (text in MacDonald, i. 37–42; Preston, 36–61; *O. S. Leaf.*, 7.) 4. Transfer of the charter and government to New England. Ellis, ch. vii.; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 92–104, and *Civil Gov't*, 146–148; Winsor, *Boston*, i. 151–159; Palfrey, i. 283–329; Doyle, ii. ch. iii.; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 366–372; Fisher, 101–103, 108–112.

5. Rapid rise of settlements on Massachusetts Bay. 6. Demands for the surrender of the charter. Twitchell, chs. v.–x.; Fisher, 120–123.

RESEARCH. — Other grants by the Council for New England, to Mason, Gorges, and others. Doyle, ii. ch. vii.; text in MacDonald, i. 36, 37, 50, 51.

11. Enlightenment and Intolerance in the Massachusetts Colony.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The planting of schools and founding of Harvard College. Fiske, *Beginnings*, 110–111; Palfrey, i. 548–549; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 467–472.

2. Restriction of political rights to church members. Walker, 98–100, 125–128; Ellis, ch. vi.; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 108–109, 247–252; Palfrey, i. 344–348, 383–389; Hart, *Contemp's*, 330–333, 393–396.

12. Secession from Massachusetts Bay. — The Founding of Connecticut.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Migration of Thomas Hooker and his followers to the Connecticut. 2. Rival claimants of the Connecticut Valley. 3. The Pequot Indian War. 4. The New Haven settlement. — Its "Fundamental Agreement" (text in MacDonald, i. 67–72). Johnston, *Connecticut*, 17–20, 69–74; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 122–127, 134–136;

Doyle, ii. ch. v., Eggleston, *Beginners*, 316–325; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 410–415, 439–444; Hubbard, ii. 5–38. See, also, references in sect. 26.

13. The Founding of Providence. — Beginnings of Rhode Island.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The broad views and tolerant spirit of Roger Williams. 2. His persecution in Massachusetts. 3. The founding of Providence Plantation. 4. The buying of lands from the Indians. Arnold, i. chs. i.–iv.; Ellis, ch. viii.; Walker, 129–136; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 114–116; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 402–406; *O. S. Leaf.*, 54.

RESEARCH. — The Character of Roger Williams. Eggleston, *Beginners*, 301–306. — Other early advocates of religious toleration. Brooks, 38–46. — Later development of religious freedom. Schaff; Lauer, ch. iii.

14. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. — The Antinomian Controversy.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers. 2. Settlement on the island of Aquidneck. — Other settlements on Narragansett Bay. 3. Origin of the name of Rhode Island. 4. Patent to the "Colony of Providence Plantations" (text in MacDonald, i. 91–93). 5. New Hampshire settlements. Arnold, i. chs. ii., v.–vii.; Hosmer, *Vane*, 47–80; Palfrey, i. ch. xii.; Ellis, ch. ix.; Eggleston, *Beginners*, 329–341; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 116–120; Twitchell, chs. xi.–xii.; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 382–387, 397–401.

RESEARCH. — The subsequent political career of Vane in England. Hosmer, *Vane*.

15. New England in 1640.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Outbreak of civil war in England. 2. Ending of Puritan emigration. 3. Extent and distribution of population in New England. Fiske, *Beginnings*, 137–139.

16. Confederation of Four New England Colonies.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Confederation of the four leading New England colonies (text in Preston, 85–95; MacDonald, i. 94–101). 2. Purpose of the union, and its significance. Fiske, *Beginnings*, 155–160; Palfrey, i. 623–634; Doyle, ii. 294–316; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 33–49; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 447–454.

17. The Dutch on the Hudson and the Delaware.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Position acquired by the Dutch. 2. Their title to it. 3. Extent of territory claimed by them and called New Netherland. 4. Chartering of the West India Company, and its early settlements. Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, i. 97–113, 116–117, 277–279.

RESEARCH. — Swedish settlements on the Delaware. *O. S. Leaf.*, 96; Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, i. 237–242.

18. Ill Government of the Dutch Colonies.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. New Amsterdam. 2. Character of the New Netherland government. 3. Peter Stuyvesant. O'Callaghan, ii. bk. 6, ch. viii.; Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, i. 131–133, 162–201; Lodge, *Short Hist.*, 286–292; Thwaites, *Colonies*, 198–202; Drake, *Making Va.*, 123–138; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 529–537.

RESEARCH. — Constitution and character of the government of Holland at this time.

19. Civil War in England. — Its Effect on the Colonies.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The royalist party, called Cavaliers, and the parliamentary party, called Roundheads. 2. Confusion and weakening of authority over the colonies. 3. Execution of the king. 4. The Commonwealth and Protectorate in England. Green, ch. viii. sects. 7–10; Gardiner, 537–576; Larned, *England*, ch. xvii.

20. Substantial Independence of New England.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Attitude of the New England colonies during and after the English civil war. 2. Theory of the relation of the colonies to the English crown. Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 156–158.

3. Failure of the attempt of Parliament to charter Massachusetts anew. Fiske, *Beginnings*, 160–162; Palfrey, ii. 401.

4. The Massachusetts mint and its significance. 5. Substitutes for coined money in the colonies. Weeden, i. 32–45, 190–192, 325–326; Palfrey, ii. 403–405.

6. Gromwell's attitude toward the colonies.

RESEARCH. — The origin of coined money. — The two purposes which money serves, and the reasons why they are served best by the so-called precious metals. — Why and under what conditions can a paper note be made to serve satisfactorily as a representative substitute for coined money? Jevons, chs. iii., v.–vi., xvi.–xviii.

21. Persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The Friends, or Quakers. 2. Their persecution in Massachusetts and elsewhere. Fiske, *Beginnings*, 179–191; Higginson, 203–206; Doyle, iii. 126–146; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 479–486.

RESEARCH. — Characteristics of the Quakers (Hallowell, ch. i.).

22. Virginia and Maryland during and after the English Civil War.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Virginia in sympathy with the king. 2. Treatment of the colony by Parliament and Cromwell. Doyle, i. 281–302; Fiske, *Old Va.*, ii. 16–21; Lodge, *Short Hist.*, 14–18; Hart, *Contemp's*, 233–236.

3. The Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 (text in MacDonald, i. 104–106; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 291–294). 4. Influx of expelled Puritans from Virginia. 5. Their conduct in Maryland. W. H. Browne, 57–89; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 301–318; Doyle, i. 402–416; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 262–267.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY COLONIES.

23. Virginia. In origin and in form and character of society and government there was much unlikeness between the seven English colonies that existed when the Protectorate in England was overthrown and monarchy was restored.

Virginia had been colonized first by a company, royally chartered, most of whose members remained in England, keeping the whole direction of the colony there and governing it wholly through officials of its own. In 1619 the colony passed under the control of men who were wise and generous enough to give instructions that the Virginia planters "might have a hand in the government of themselves;" whereupon the colonial governor caused two representatives to be elected from each of eleven settlements or plantations, who were to meet with a council which the company appointed, forming a general assembly, — the first of American legislatures, and probably the first colonial legislature in the world since those of the ancient Greeks. Two years later the company, led by Sir Edwin Sandys, a man of great influence and ability, established this system of partly representative government more formally and firmly by embodying it in an ordinance, adopted on the 24th of July, 1621.[1] The

Sir Edwin Sandys.

[1] This was more nearly a written constitution of government than the agreement to be spoken of presently, which the Pilgrim

broad-minded men who brought this about were leaders in the party which resisted the tyrannical attempts of King James to destroy the political rights of the English people. Hence the king was hostile to them, and he was able, with the help of a subservient bench of judges, to annul their charter and take the colony out of their hands. He then began to plan a new scheme of government for Virginia, and would, of course, have swept away its representative legislature; but he fell sick soon afterward and died (March, 1625). His son and successor, Charles I., plunged instantly into quarrels with his subjects at home, which kept him busy, and Virginia was let alone. Except that its governor and council were appointed thenceforth by the crown, the government of the colony was unchanged, and its general assembly lived on through the whole of the colonial time. The popular representatives in the assembly, called burgesses, were elected by vote of all the free male "inhabitants" of the colony until 1670, when the suffrage was restricted to "freeholders and housekeepers."

Assembly of Burgesses.

Excepting Virginia, every one of the early colonies had its origin in a movement of escape from intolerant laws concerning religious practices and beliefs. Two of them (Connecticut and Rhode Island) represented secessions from the main body of the exiles;

Religious Origins.

Fathers of the Mayflower adopted eight months before. This Virginia ordinance created the apparatus of a representative government, which the Mayflower Compact did not; but the latter was the agreement of the people themselves, while the former was a grant from men who exercised sovereignty over the people in the king's name. Both instruments are of memorable interest in American history; but neither of them can be called "the first of written constitutions," as the "Fundamental Orders" of Connecticut (see sect. 26) can be, in the strict modern sense.

in four instances the migration was self-directed by those who took part in it; in the remaining case (that of Maryland) it was not.

24. Plymouth. In the matter of government, the Mayflower Pilgrims, on arriving at Plymouth, were singularly placed. They came to America with no government provided for them by the authority in England which claimed sovereignty over their new home, and with no authorization to govern themselves. Self-government was forced on them, in a primitive way, by the necessities of their situation, impelling them to exercise a natural right. To agree on some organization of authority amongst themselves was all that they could do. They framed such an agreement and signed it, on the 11th of November (Old Style, being the 21st, New Style), before landing from the ship.[1] If we can call this "Mayflower Compact," as it is known, a constitution of democratic government, it was the simplest ever written, and the first (see footnote, sect. **23**). It gave sufficient authority to the governor, chosen yearly thereafter (John Carver in the first year, and William Bradford in most of the thirty-six following years), and sufficient force to the simple ordinances that were enacted in meetings of the whole small body of the Plym-

Mayflower Compact.

[1] "We," it said, "having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

outh freemen, until 1639. After that time deputies were chosen to form a representative legislature, in place of the original meeting of all. From the beginning to the end of its separate existence, the Plymouth colony was a self-constituted republic, existing as such by sufferance of the government that claimed dominion over it.

25. Massachusetts. Very different in political structure was the colony next planted on the New England coast. That came, as we have seen (sect. **10**), to an appointed territory, and came fully constituted and organized in advance, — "the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," — endowed with all the powers of self-government that the sovereignty assumed by the king of England could confer. It came as a corporate body, created by royal charter, empowered to add to its membership without limit, and, apparently, on its own terms. It exercised that power of admitting new members by adopting a rule, in the year after its arrival in America, that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." This shut out all but members of Puritan churches, since no other religious bodies were allowed, for some time, to hold services in the colony. It did not exclude other persons from residence in the colony, for many who were not Puritan church members came in; but it denied them political rights. They were not "freemen" of the body politic; they had no vote. This peculiar qualification of the suffrage became a cause of deep discontent; but, with a slight relaxation (in 1662, by what was called the "Halfway Covenant"), it was stoutly maintained for more than half a century, until the cherished charter of the "Governor and Company" had been annulled.

Restriction of the franchise to church members.

At the outset, the general body of the "freemen" of the colony could exercise their political franchise only by being present at the meetings called the "general court." They elected the twelve "assistants provided for in the charter;" the assistants elected the governor; the governor and assistants made and executed laws. But in the second year of the colony the yearly election of the governor was taken from the assistants and given to the general body of freemen; and in the third year a representative legislature was created, formed of deputies from each town. Its sessions were still called meetings of the "general court."

Early Representation.

26. Connecticut and New Haven. Disapproval of the narrow restriction of political rights in Massachusetts was among the causes that led to the secession and migration which planted a separate colony in the Connecticut valley. The first three Connecticut settlements were made by emigrants from the three Massachusetts towns of Newtown (afterwards Cambridge), Watertown, and Dorchester, and each brought part of its town and church organization with it, setting the same in operation on the new ground at once. Their local government suffered no break, therefore, and a general or commonwealth government was created immediately, by an assembly of the magistrates of the three towns, to form a "general court." In 1639 the whole body of "the inhabitants and residents" of the three towns adopted what they called the "Fundamental Orders" of government for their commonwealth, in a series of decrees which form, in the most complete sense of the term, a written political constitution; and, in that full sense, it is the first that is known to have been framed as a scheme of self-government by any community of people in the

Fundamental Orders of Government.

world.[1] "We the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield," said they, in these "Orders," "well-knowing where a people are gathered together . . . there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require, do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public state or commonwealth." Here, then, we have again, as at Plymouth, the creation of a self-constituted commonwealth, derived from no exterior sovereignty, and resting on none, until, after a quarter of a century, its constitution was uselessly confirmed by a charter from the king.

The same self-making of government was performed at New Haven, in the founding of a colony there that was joined a little later to Connecticut. Authority at New Haven was based on a "Fundamental Agreement," in six resolutions; but the community had nothing of the democratic spirit of its near neighbors, up the river, since none but church members were admitted to the franchises of the little state.

27. Rhode Island. In like manner, Roger Williams and his followers accomplished their self-organization of government on Narragansett Bay, by a compact as simple as that of the Plymouth Pilgrims. It united them,

[1] Dr. Fiske calls attention to the fact that "this document contains none of the conventional references to a 'dread sovereign' or a 'gracious king,' nor the slightest allusion to the British or any other government outside of Connecticut itself, nor does it prescribe any condition of church membership for the right of suffrage. It was the first written constitution known to history that created a government, and it marked the beginnings of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker deserves more than any other man to be called the father." — *Beginnings of New England*, p. 127. See, also, footnote on page 63.

"with such others as they shall admit," in a "town fellowship;" but stipulated that the fellowship should be "only in civil things," thus declaring a separation of the affairs of the "state" from the affairs of the "church." Their civil government was the first in history to be barred from interference with the freedom of the soul.

28. Maryland. In the case of Maryland the political formation was wholly different from that of any of the colonies described above. The king of England, in that instance, transferred to one of his subjects, Lord Baltimore, almost the whole sovereignty that he claimed over a portion of American territory, parting with the exercise of that sovereignty so completely that his relation to Maryland became only that of a feudal suzerain or overlord. This created what was known in the Middle Ages and afterward as a *palatine province* or *palatinate*, for the reason that the powers conferred on its lord were those exercised in the palace of the king. He could grant titles of nobility, coin money, create courts, appoint judges, hear appeals from them, approve or annul all colonial proceedings, and be practically, in fact, a sovereign within his domain. But he was not to be an absolute sovereign, any more than the king of England was constitutionally such. By the terms of his patent he was required to give the freemen of his province a voice in the making of their laws. At first they were all called together for that purpose, in an assembly like the "folk-moots" of the early English; but in 1638 they began to choose delegates to the assembly, to sit with the governor, and representative government existed in Maryland from that time.

Sovereignty conferred on Lord Baltimore.

29. The Constitutional Differences and the Fundamental Likeness. To review, now, the variety of political constructions in the first English-American col-

onies: Virginia had been planted originally by a company resident in England, to which the king had granted a large piece of territory, with a somewhat limited power to govern the settlements made in it; but the grant to that company had been annulled by English courts, and the colony became then what is called a "crown colony," governed directly by the king. Massachusetts had been planted by a company which held a similar grant from the king, by a charter that was also a constitution of government; but the company, instead of remaining in England to send out colonists and rule them, transferred itself to America, and was itself the colony which it had royal authority to found and rule. Maryland was a "proprietary province," so called, — the property or principality of a lord, who owned its soil and was the sovereign of its people. The remaining three colonies — Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island — had been planted without authority, and self-government had been organized in them by their inhabitants. Rhode Island had already received a charter from the English government, and Connecticut was to be chartered later; but all three were not only self-planted, like Massachusetts, but were self-constituted republican states.

Differences in early colonial governments.

Under the wide differences in their political construction there was a fundamental likeness between these colonies, in the fact that the people in all of them had what the Virginia company described as "a hand in the government of themselves." There was a representative legislature in every one; having more independence in some than in others, but exercising everywhere a large measure of democratic power, and striving incessantly against all outside restraints. This was because they were English colonies, of English creation, peopled mainly by Eng-

lishmen, who brought from home the expectation of being listened to by their government, and of being represented in the making of their laws and the levying of the taxes they paid. There was no such thing in French or Spanish colonies, nor even in those planted by the Dutch. The nearest approach to it in the Dutch-American colony of New Netherland was a self-perpetuating board of "Nine Men," whom the arbitrary governor consulted when it pleased him to do so; and even that unrepresentative board was not created until the colony had existed for nearly forty years.

Resemblances in early colonial governments.

Popular representation in government had an ancient origin among the Germanic peoples; but feudalism destroyed it almost everywhere on the European continent. In England it survived, through many vicissitudes, sometimes in vigorous exercise, sometimes preserved feebly, more in form than in spirit, but never given up. At the time when the six colonies we now speak of were planted, the English people were engaged in a decisive struggle with their kings, to recover for their representatives in Parliament the full measure of their ancient constitutional powers, which had been slipping away. They had accomplished that, and more; and the spirit of their struggle, as well as the fruits of it, had reached their colonial plantations in the New World.

Popular representation in England.

30. Local governments. — Town, Parish, County, and Hundred. Quite as important as the general legislatures in which the people were represented — in some views more important — were the local organizations in which they managed their neighborhood affairs. These, too, with the training to use them, were brought by the colonists from their mother-land. The early English people had been organized in democratic townships (*tun-*

scipes), all the freemen of which assembled in meetings (called *gemots* or *moots*), at which the affairs of the *tun* or town were regulated, and from which four "best men" were chosen to represent the *tun* in *moots* of larger districts, called *hundreds* and *shires*, the latter corresponding to the counties of later times. Feudalism and the Norman conquest brought about a great change in the old English townships, converting or absorbing them into small lordships, called manors, in which, however, some semblance of the ancient *tun-moot* or town-meeting was still retained. Meantime the Christian church had been forming parishes that were bounded generally by the old township lines, and the priests called parish meetings, which gradually took up a good deal of the same kind of local business that the town meetings had transacted, thus keeping alive amongst the people the practice of local self-government, which might otherwise have been suppressed.

Tuns and Tun-moots.

Parish meetings.

This most important practice was brought by the English to America, and introduced in the several colonies in somewhat different forms. The Puritan New Englanders put the old township system and the later parish system together, by grouping themselves in church societies and congregations when their first settlements were made, each church becoming the nucleus of a town. This naturally organized the inhabitants of the towns, brought them into intimate and democratic relations with one another, and trained them in the habit of meeting to discuss and act on all matters of common concern. Church meetings became town meetings, and the latter grew, probably, to more importance in New England than they possessed in the days of the old English *tun-moot*. The whole structure of government in New England was built up from the ground-

Church and town meetings in New England.

work of these democratic towns. Their representatives composed the "general courts;" they were the units of all political organization — the primaries of all action in public affairs.

In Virginia and Maryland, with their separated plantation settlements, local government was organized necessarily in looser modes. Virginia colonists brought with them the established English church, and with it the parish, in its English form. To some extent, in some places, the parish vestry meetings acquired political functions, but their influence in that direction was slight. The county was the smallest territorial division in which the people of Virginia were able really to organize their political action, or to associate themselves politically in informal ways. It became the unit of representation in the House of Burgesses at an early day; the magistrates of the county courts, appointed by the governor, had most of the functions of local government put into their hands; the elections of burgesses were held in the county court-house, and it was there, on court days, that the planters came together and listened to speeches on public matters, or discussed them in private talk. A lively political spirit was cultivated by these gatherings, but it was much less democratic in character than that of the New England towns. In Maryland, where the English manorial system was instituted by Lord Baltimore, the most important organization of local government was in districts called by the old English name of the *hundred*. There were settlements in Virginia called *hundreds*, but they had no essential purpose to serve. The Maryland *hundred* was the district of elections, of militia trainings, and of nearly all popular meetings of every kind.

Vestry and county meetings in Virginia.

Hundreds in Maryland.

31. Social Structure and Character of Virginia and Maryland. In social structure and character Virginia differed widely from the colonies at the north. Every element of English population was represented in the early emigration to James River, including a considerable number of Puritan settlers; but the majority of those going to that part of America were people who abhorred opposition to the throne and the established church. As the English Puritans were driven to range themselves more and more against king and church, Virginia grew hostile to them, and most of those who had come into the colony were finally (1648–49) driven away into Maryland, about a thousand in number. Their places in Virginia were more than filled by an extensive immigration from England of the defeated royalists, which began in 1649. In that year the population of Virginia was about 15,000; it seems to have been doubled in the next eleven years, while England had no king, and the newcomers were generally from the royalist side. Many of them came from the stock of the English gentry, and many more from the class of land-owning farmers called "yeomen," generally bringing enough of means for the buying of estates in land, and for becoming tobacco-planters on a considerable scale. They gave a stamp of character to one side — an aristocratic side — of Virginia society, that was never lost.

Early settlers in Virginia.

Royalist immigrants.

Agriculture, the most democratic of occupations in most times and places, was made aristocratic in Virginia by the tobacco plant, which gave better profits to a lordly system of cultivation on big plantations, by the cheap labor of purchased servants (see page 75) or convicts or slaves, than to the tillage of the humbler farm. Virginia society was moulded, politically and economi-

cally, by that fact. It tended toward the creation of large estates in land, and toward the rise of an all-controlling class of wealthy, strong-willed men, surrounded by helpless or humble dependents, and living a much separated country life. The abundance of large rivers in Virginia made it possible, in the early colonial time, to place every considerable plantation on a navigable stream. Each wealthy planter had his own wharves, from which he shipped his tobacco crop, and to which the ships came that brought back most of the proceeds in English goods. This mode of business left little for local merchants to do; little chance, too, for manufacturing to arise; almost nothing that could build up towns. In Maryland the conditions were much the same.

Influence of tobacco culture.

32. Social Structure and Character of New England. Very different were the circumstances in colonial New England, and very different the social tone. There the dominant part of the population had been picked from England by a sifting out of extremely earnest religious minds. They were people to whom the matters of religion were the most important in life, and whose views of religion were grave and stern. Many of them were from English families of the gentry class, and quite commonly they were people of education and of comfortable means. The Puritan ministers who came with them, and who exercised a commanding influence, were mostly men of a remarkably high order in character and mind. If there existed any class that could be called aristocratic in New England, these strong, dictatorial divines were its chiefs; but all the conditions of life, on the small country farms and in the many towns, were such as tend toward the democratic plane.

Religious spirit of early colonists.

33. New Netherland. — The "Patroon" System.

In the Dutch colony of New Netherland, under the Dutch West India Company, an unfortunate attempt had been made to establish a kind of feudal system, by offering lands, not directly to settlers, but to a class of landlords, called patrons or "patroons," each of whom, when he had bought from the Indian owners a tract of land, might settle it with colonists who became, not only his tenants, paying him rent, but his subjects, to a considerable extent. Locally he was their governor, their judge, their military captain, and he controlled their church. Under this Americanized feudal system several enormous tracts of land were secured. One of them, obtained by Killian van Rensselaer, extended along the Hudson for forty-eight miles, and was twenty-four miles in breadth. Naturally, the plan failed to bring many immigrants into the colony, and it was abandoned in 1638; but not until it had done great mischief, leaving troublesome monopolies in the ownership of land and lasting social marks.

34. Slavery and Indentured Servitude in all the Colonies. Both negro slavery and another system of bondage, which white people were subjected to, crept into Virginia in 1619, when that was the sole settlement of the English in America, and both of the evil systems made their way into the other colonies at a later time. Twenty negroes from Africa were brought to Jamestown that year and sold; and one hundred poor boys and girls were brought from London at about the same time to be "bound" or indentured to the colonists for a term of years. This latter was the beginning of a system of "indentured servitude" which spread from Virginia through all the colonies, and which, for a long period, exceeded negro slavery in extent. Multitudes of men and women, as well as boys and girls, were sent into

Negro slavery.

this kind of bondage from the Old World to the New. Many, who were called "redemptioners," bound themselves to it for a given period, as a means of obtaining free passage across the sea. Some were vagrants, paupers, and criminals, of whom England wished to be rid; still others were Irish and Scotch prisoners, taken in the wars that occurred soon after the practice began. Finally, as the demand for labor increased, and high prices were paid for indentured servants, even kidnapping was winked at, in order to secure them, and hundreds of young people were villainously trapped in various ways to be brought to America and sold.

Indentured servants.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

23. Virginia.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Government of Virginia from 1607 to 1619. 2. Establishment of representative government in 1619. 3. The ordinance of 1621 (text in MacDonald, i. 34–36; Preston, 32–35). A. Brown, *Eng. Politics*, 21–41; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 177–188, 191–194; Doyle, i. 208–216; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 218–225.

4. Nullification of the charter by James I. 5. Government of the colony under Charles I. Brown, *Eng. Politics*, 42–86; Doyle, i. 219–245; Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 194–222, 241–254.

6. Virginia the one early English colony of non-religious origin.

RESEARCH. — How does the English constitution differ from the "written constitutions" now common in the world? See American preface to Bagehot's "English Constitution."

24. Plymouth.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Self-government forced on the "Mayflower" Pilgrims. 2. The "Mayflower Compact" (text in Preston, 29–31; MacDonald, i. 33, 34; Larned, *Ready Ref.;* Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 344). 3. The colony a self-constituted republic, existing by sufferance. Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 192.

25. Massachusetts.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Early political structure of the Massachusetts colony. 2. Its endowment with self-government by royal charter. 3. Its power to control its own membership as a body politic. Winsor, *Boston*, i. 329–333; Doyle, ii. 120, 121 129–131; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 96, 105–108.

4. Admittance of none but church members to political rights. Winsor, *Boston*, i. 148–155; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 248–251; Doyle, ii. 146–148.

5. Creation of a representative legislature. Doyle, ii. 138–145; Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 147–149; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 373–377.

RESEARCH. — Some of the qualifications for voting now required in different American States. Lalor, iii. 826–833; Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 675–677.

26. Connecticut.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Peculiar transfer of town and church organizations from Massachusetts. 2. Spontaneous creation of a commonwealth government. 3. The "Fundamental Orders" (text in Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 415–419; MacDonald, i. 60–65; Preston, 78–84; *O. S. Leaf.*, 8). Johnston, *Conn.*, 56–64; Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 192, 193; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 127, 128.

4. The "Fundamental Agreement" of New Haven. Fiske, *Beginnings*, 135, 136; Livermore, 23.

RESEARCH. — Written constitutions. Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, ch. vii.

27. Rhode Island.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Self-organization of government by Roger Williams and his followers. 2. Their separation of church and state. J. R. Green, 13, 14; Lauer, 46–48.

RESEARCH. — Reasons for and against an exercise of political authority in matters of religion.

28. Maryland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Feudal character of the sovereignty transferred to Lord Baltimore. 2. Nature of the "palatinate" created by his patent

(text in Preston, 62–77; MacDonald, i. 53–59). 3. His powers and their limitation. Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 256–266, 269–272, 275–281; Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 150–151; Browne, 18–20; Eggleston, *Beginners*, 234–236.

4. Rise of the representative assembly in Maryland. Fiske, *Old Va.*, i. 283–285; Browne, 35–36.

RESEARCH. — Palatinates in Europe. Larned, *Ready Ref.*

29. Constitutional Differences and Fundamental Likeness.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Variety of political constitutions in the early colonies. 2. The colonies alike in having representative legislatures. 3. Distinction of English colonies in this respect. Hinsdale, *Am. Gov't*, 33–35; Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 154–156; Schouler, *Const. Studies*, 9–17; Johnston, *The U. S.*, 9.

4. Peculiar survival of representative government among the English people. 5. Their recent struggle for its preservation. Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 39, 40; Larned, *England*, 23, 373–420; Green, ch. viii. sects. 3–9.

RESEARCH. — The Germanic origin of representative government. Fiske, *Am. Pol. Ideas*, 69–72.

30. Local Governments. — Town, Parish, County, Hundred.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Early English origin of town meetings. 2. Later English origin of parish or vestry meetings. 3. Township and parish systems combined by the New Englanders. 4. Government in New England built up from the democratic towns. Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 35–41, 16–21; Fiske, *Am. Pol. Ideas*, 31–53; Doyle, iii. 19–17.

5. Parish and county systems in Virginia and the "hundred" in Maryland. Hosmer, *A. S. Freedom*, 118–121; Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 57–66, 75–77.

RESEARCH. — The system of local government organization in the student's own State.

31. Social Structure and Character of Virginia and Maryland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Early Virginia colonists mainly royalists and churchmen. 2. Expulsion of Puritans and immigration of defeated Cavaliers. 3. Aristocratic influence of tobacco culture. 4. Conditions adverse to the rise of towns. Fiske, *Old Va.*, ii. 9–18, 23–30, 34–35, 174–181, 203–218; Hosmer, *A. S. Freedom*, 122–125; Thwaites, 96–98, 100–104, 106–109.

32. Social Structure and Character of New England.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Religious selection of the New England colonists. 2. The English classes represented in them. 3. Conditions of life tending toward democracy. Winsor, *Boston*, i. 148–149; Fiske, *Am. Pol. Ideas*, 17–31; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 140–151; Doyle, iii. 57–64; Weeden, i. 281–282; Hosmer, *Adams*, 89.

33. New Netherland. — Patroon System.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The system of landholding undertaken in the Dutch colony. 2. Its failure and the evil results. O'Callaghan, i. 112–128; Schuyler, i. 11–26; Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, i. 133–140; MacDonald, i. 43–50.

34. Slavery and Indentured Servitude.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Beginnings of slavery in the colonies. 2. The system of indentured servitude. Bruce, i. ch. ix; Fiske, *Old Va.*, ii. 181–203; Cooke, 119–123; Thwaites, 98–100; Doyle, i. 66–68; Ballagh.

CHAPTER III.

THE COLONIES UNDER CHARLES II. AND JAMES II. 1660–1688.

35. Virginia under Charles II. With the new king, Charles II., the Royalist or Cavalier party, crushed a dozen years before in England, came back into power (1660) and had its revenge. Then the English Puritans were oppressed, and the Puritan colonies in America had nothing but hostility to expect. Nevertheless, the latter suffered less than the planters of the south. A hard blow to the prosperity of Virginia and Maryland was struck by one of the first enactments of the new government, called the Navigation Act of 1660, which will be described on a later page. It shut the tobacco planters from every market for their product except England, which could not take up the whole supply. This brought down the price to a ruinous point, and left unsalable crops on the planters' hands. For the consolation of the aggrieved Virginians, their old governor, Sir William Berkeley, whom they had reinstated without waiting for authority, and who went to England to make his bow to the restored king in 1661, came back with instructions that were full of piety and exceedingly wise. He was "to take especial care that Almighty God be devoutly and duly served," "the Book of Common Prayer as now established read," and laws "for the suppression of vice, debauchery, and idleness" passed. He was to encourage the planters "to build towns upon

Navigation Act, 1660.

every river," — "one town at least to be built upon every river." [1]

It is to be feared that Sir William did not keep these instructions in mind; for his government in Virginia thereafter was not one that would cultivate piety or encourage the building of towns. He had always been a despot by nature, and he now became more despotic than before. His royal master was beginning already to set as vile an example of bad government as England ever knew, and Berkeley seems to have copied the pattern in several respects. He surrounded himself, it was charged, with scandalous favorites, who allowed broken private fortunes to be repaired at public expense. Just as England, in the first excitement of the country over its restored king, had elected a Parliament of Cavaliers who did everything that his majesty wished, so Berkeley, in 1661, secured a House of Burgesses that gave him a free rein. For fifteen years he kept the subservient House in existence, not allowing it to be dissolved. Practically, the political rights of the colonists were suppressed, while their economic condition grew steadily worse, and the result was an increasing state of discontent.

Berkeley's despotism, 1661-1676.

36. New England and the King. 1660–1661. The Puritan colonies of New England fared better than Cavalier Virginia, for some years. There was no lack of hostile feeling toward them, in and around the English court, and it was fomented by the sufferers from persecution in Massachusetts, who bore complaints to the king; but the solid strength which that colony had now attained, buttressed by the three lesser colonies in the New England confederation, was not encouraging to a hasty

[1] Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial*, 1661–68, p. 110.

attack. The colonists took care to provoke no attack, and sent loyal addresses, to give assurance of the affection with which they welcomed the king to his reërected throne. Massachusetts was the first of the four united colonies (December, 1660) to make that dutiful offering; but, as if to prevent any possible misunderstanding of what it conceived to be its relations to the English crown, this was followed a few months later by an important statement "Concerning our Liberties," which set forth the powers that "the Governor and Company" believed to be conferred on them by the patent or charter received from King Charles the First. That patent, they declared, made them "a body politic, in fact and in name," "vested with the power to make freemen," which "freemen have power to choose annually a governor," etc., and "to set up all sorts of officers," having "full power and authority . . . for the government of all people here . . . without appeal, excepting law or laws repugnant to the laws of England;" and such "government is privileged . . . if need be by force of arms, to defend themselves, both by land and sea." Finally, they declared, "we conceive any imposition . . . contrary to any just law of ours not repugnant to the laws of England, to be an infringement of our right."

Massachusetts asserts her "Liberties," 1661.

37. Connecticut and Rhode Island Chartered. — New Haven Absorbed. 1660–1663. Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven followed the example of Massachusetts in sending loyal addresses to the king. Rhode Island had acknowledged and proclaimed King Charles in advance of them all. The memorial of Connecticut was followed by her governor, the younger John Winthrop, who went to England in the summer of 1661 to solicit a charter from the king. He was a gentleman

of such tact and address that he secured a charter which annexed the settlement at New Haven to the colony of Connecticut, granting to the latter a zone of territory as long as the continent is wide, bounded on the north by the line of Massachusetts, on the south by the Atlantic, and running from Narragansett Bay on the east "to the South Sea on the west." New Haven resisted this arbitrary annexation without avail. Its people had given particular offence to the king by sheltering and shielding two of the judges (Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe) of the court which tried the late king and sentenced him to death. Those "regicides," as they were called, being pursued by royal officers, were hidden in New Haven and its neighborhood and helped to escape. Hence the readiness with which Connecticut was permitted to annex the smaller colony. It was a proceeding so intolerable to some in New Haven that they migrated a few years later (1666–67) to what had then become New Jersey, and founded Newark, on the Passaic; while Mr. Davenport, the father of the colony, withdrew to Boston and ended his days in that town.

Connecticut's charter.

Regicides in New England, 1660-1661.

Migration to the Passaic.

The Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, as well as Connecticut, had success at this time in applying for a royal charter (issued in 1663), and the usual carelessness of the day in such matters described conflicting boundaries. The Rhode Island charter was made notable by a clause declaring: "Our royal will and pleasure is that no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion." This respectful concession to the principle of religious liberty is made extraordinary by the fact that, when the charter

Rhode Island's charter.

containing it was issued, the king and his party were suppressing in England every form of religious worship except that of the established church.

38. The Founding of the Carolinas. 1663–1693. Three months before the issuing of the charter to Rhode Island (March, 1663), another was granted to a company of high personages, resulting in the founding of a new proprietary colony, out of which came our two Carolinas, North and South. This charter created a "palatinate," like that of Lord Baltimore (see sects. **6** and **28**). Furthermore, in the spirit of the Rhode Island charter, it added to those extensive sovereign powers a special permission to be indulgent to people who "cannot, in their private opinions, conform to the public exercise of religion according to the liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the Church of England."

Palatinate of the Carolinas.

The territory of the newly chartered colony, called the Province of Carolina, had been embraced in various former grants, but never occupied in any effectual way. Two small settlements from Virginia, on Albemarle Sound, east of the Chowan, had been made in 1653 and 1662. These became the nucleus of the colony in its northern part. Between 1665 and 1670, immigrants from Barbados and from England planted settlements farther south, on the Cape Fear River and at

Early settlements from Virginia.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE CAROLINA GRANT.

Slavery and servitude.

the point where the city of Charleston now stands. In 1672 the colony received a governor from Barbados, Sir John Yeamans, who brought with him a number of negro slaves.

A constitution for Carolina had been drafted by a hand no less distinguished than that of the great English philosopher, John Locke. He prepared it as the secretary of the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the proprietors, and the instrument is supposed to have represented the views of that nobleman much more than his own. Its main purpose, as stated in the preamble, was "that the government of this province may be made most agreeable to the monarchy under which we live," "and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy." It provided for the creation, on one hand, of an hereditary nobility, of "landgraves" and "casiques," with a feudalized land system and system of courts; on the other hand, of a body of serfs, called "leet-men" and "leet-women," whose serfdom should be perpetual; for, said the constitution, "all the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations." In addition to the serf system, it established negro slavery, and every "freeman" was given "absolute power and authority over his negro slaves." It is gratifying to know that this "grand model" of government, as it was called, could not be made to work, and was abrogated in 1693. Even after that time the settlements in Carolina (already treated as in two sections and described as "our colony north-east of Cape Fear" and "our colony south-west of Cape Fear") languished for some years in a disordered and unprosperous state.

Locke's "grand model."

39. Conquest of New Netherland, which becomes New York. 1664. The list of English colonies in America was now increasing fast. Two more were added

in 1664, as a consequence of the capture of New Netherland from the Dutch. England had never given up her claim to that important territory between the two groups of her American colonies, and the time for enforcing it was thought to be reached in 1664. Several reasons for that conclusion were found, and the king and his ministers resolved to make a sudden seizure of the Dutch settlements without any previous declaration of war. Before doing so, in March, 1664, the king issued a patent to his brother James, Duke of York, granting to that prince all the territory that lies between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, together with Long Island and several other islands, and a certain district in Maine. This nullified the grant lately made to Connecticut and the older grant to Massachusetts, so far as concerned everything west of the Connecticut River; but tricks of that sort were nothing to a Stuart king. In April the Duke of York commissioned Colonel Richard Nicolls to be his deputy-governor in the great province thus given him, over which his powers of government were not to be those of a palatine prince, but had no other limit save that of conformity to English law. Within a few days the same Colonel Nicolls was appointed by the king to head a commission, instructed "to visit the several colonies of New England, and to examine and determine all complaints and appeals in all causes, as well military as criminal and civil, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of that country." The projected seizure of New Netherland appeared, therefore, to be connected in the plans of the king with a design against the independence of New England.

Grant to the Duke of York, 1664.

Commissioners to visit New England.

In May Colonel Nicolls and his associates sailed from England with a small fleet and several hundred troops.

After a short stay at Boston they went on to New Amsterdam and made an easy conquest of the place. The stout-hearted Dutch governor, Stuyvesant, would have defended his little town if he could; but his force was small, his fortifications were slight, and the inhabitants, many of them disaffected, would not take arms. He surrendered on the 6th of September, obtaining quite favorable terms. Colonel Nicolls assumed the governorship, and his first act was to change the name of New Amsterdam to New York. Soon afterward, the province in general was given the same name. Fort Orange was called Albany, and other names were changed.

New Amsterdam becomes New York.

40. Origin of New Jersey. 1664. Two months in advance of the capture of his province, the Duke of York had sold to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret that portion of it which lies between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, from Cape May to a line drawn from 41° 40′ of north latitude on the Delaware to 41° on the Hudson. This tract was to be called New Jersey, in commemoration of a gallant defence of the isle of Jersey made by Sir George Carteret, against the Parliamentarians, in the English civil war. It was conveyed to the new proprietors with all the powers of government given in the royal grant to the duke. In the following February (1665) the proprietors issued a very liberal frame of government, called "The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors," pledging freedom of conscience and providing for the representation of the "freemen of the province" in a legislative body.

41. Resistance to the King's Commissioners in Massachusetts. 1664–1666. Meantime, Colonel Nicolls was settling the government of New York, and his colleagues of the New England Commission were striv-

ing in vain to carry out their instructions and exercise authority within the jurisdiction of the chartered Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. In Connecticut, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, the Commissioners were allowed to hear certain appeals to them, as their commission directed; but Massachusetts would permit nothing of the kind. "The Commissioners," wrote one of them (Sir Robert Carr), in a subsequent report, "visited all the other colonies before this, hoping that their submission would have abated the refractoriness of this, which the Commissioners much feared;" "but neither examples nor reason could prevail with them to let the Commissioners hear so much as those particular causes . . . which the king had commanded them to take care of." "They of this colony," continued Sir Robert, "say that Charles I. gave them power to make laws and execute them, and granted them a charter as a warrant against himself and his successors, and so long as they pay the fifth of all gold and silver ore [which, if any should be found, the Massachusetts charter reserved to the crown], they are not obliged to the king but by civility. They hope by writing to tire the king, the lord chancellor and the secretaries, and say they can easily spin out seven years by writing, and before that time a change may come." [1]

Commissioners' report.

They did, in fact, "spin out" the controversy for twenty years, defending what they had declared to be their "liberties" (see sect. **36**) with a determination that seems amazing when we remember that, much as the colony had prospered, its total population was probably less than 30,000, that opposition to the ruling church members and ministers was strong and growing, and that many substantial inhabitants con-

Spinning out the controversy.

[1] New York State, *Documents*, iii. 10.

demned the attitude taken toward the king. The minority controlling the government went forward with no wavering or yielding in their independent course.

Territorial rights were defended as resolutely as political rights. One construction of the language of the Massachusetts charter would give the colony a boundary three miles to the north of the *headwaters* of the Merrimac, and take in a large part of what is now New Hampshire and Maine; another construction would place it three miles beyond the *mouth* of that stream. The king's commissioners adopted the latter interpretation, and removed the Massachusetts officials in Maine. On the first opportunity they were reinstated by the General Court at Boston; and this was done in the face of a royal command "that the government of the Province of Maine continue as the Commissioners have left it." The king's missive which bore this plain mandate (April, 1666) commanded further that the governor of the colony, Richard Bellingham, and others, should be sent to England "to attend his Majesty," "when all allegations or pretences on behalf of said colony shall be heard."[1] Neither command was obeyed.

Disputed northern boundary.

It is evident that the king and his counsellors knew not what to do with this audacious colony. If they had had no troubles at home, they might have brought force to bear; but England was sickening already of its restored king and his scandalous court. So the rulers of Massachusetts could take advantage of royal embarrassments, as their predecessors had done thirty years before.

42. Berkeley's ill-government in Virginia. 1660–1676. While Puritan Massachusetts was thus hardened in the temper of independence, Cavalier Virginia was going through an experience which tended, at least, to

[1] Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial*, 1661–68, p. 372.

produce the same state of mind. As stated before (sect. **35**), Governor Berkeley, once popular, was making himself odious by a manner of government like that of the English king and court. He and the king between them were said to have let loose on the colony a devouring swarm of official parasites; and, even in local matters, the people had been deprived of political rights. Formerly they had elected the parish vestries, which managed certain local affairs; but the boards of vestrymen had acquired power to fill vacancies in their own number; and so the people were shut out from all action on matters of public concern.

Loss of political rights.

A most flagrant illustration of the king's shameless contempt of public and private rights was given to the Virginians in 1673, when he signed a grant which turned them and their country, like an estate with serfs, over to two favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper, whom he wished to reward. That atrocious grant was in the nature of a lease of the colony for thirty-one years. During that time Arlington and Culpeper were to be its lords, controlling its government, taking its revenues, and wringing from it as much profit as they could. The outraged colonists sent a delegation to London which succeeded in buying the consent of the holders of the grant to a cancellation of its worst features, and in winning the promise of a charter that would give the colony some rights of its own. The charter was actually drawn up; but sinister influences, always working in the courts of the Stuart kings, kept it from the king's hand, and it was never signed.

Grant to Arlington and Culpeper, 1673.

43. Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. 1676. The increasing disaffection in Virginia, caused by all these wrongs, was brought at last to an outbreak in 1676, by the failure of Governor Berkeley to defend settlers in

the northern parts of the colony against a savage Indian attack. A crowd of maddened planters came together in May, placed themselves under the command of a resolute young man, Nathaniel Bacon, and prepared to take the field. Bacon applied to the governor for a commission, and received what he took to be a promise, whereupon he and his followers began their march. They were soon overtaken by a proclamation commanding them to disperse. Some obeyed, but the larger part went on and drove the savages from their bloody work. Berkeley, in great wrath, gathered a mounted troop and set out to put Bacon under arrest; but he was stopped in his course by a rising at Jamestown, so threatening that he had to hasten back and make terms with the insurgents, by conceding the election of a new House of Burgesses, to be assembled at once. Bacon was one of the burgesses elected. He acknowledged the illegality of his action, the governor pardoned all concerned, and peace seemed to be restored. The Assembly then proceeded to pass acts which reformed many of the abuses of recent years. No doubt Bacon was active in these measures, and no doubt the old governor entertained ugly feelings toward all who had a hand in the work.

A new House of Burgesses.

What he planned, or what he did, has never been learned; but Bacon is said to have had warning of treacheries that endangered his life. He disappeared from Jamestown one night, and soon returned with a following of 600 armed men, demanding to be commissioned for another campaign against the Indians. The commission was issued and used with prompt effect; but in the midst of his operations on the frontier Bacon was denounced by the governor as a rebel, and a proclamation was issued against him. Then followed a brief

period of actual civil war, in which Governor Berkeley seemed to be vanquished completely; but Bacon, at the moment of his triumph, was prostrated by a sudden illness and died (October, 1676). What he would have done had he lived, it is impossible to judge. He had shown commanding qualities, and the movement he led seems more democratic in spirit than the Massachusetts resistance to King Charles's commissioners, a few years before. Virginia and Massachusetts, the two chief colonies, were anticipating strangely, by a hundred years, the lead they would take in establishing the independent political rights of the transplanted Englishmen in America.

Bacon's death and character.

Bacon's party fell to pieces when he died, and the governor recovered full power, which he used for a vengeance more savage than has been known in America since. Twenty-two of the leading insurgents were executed, and many more were punished heavily, in less brutal ways. In the following spring the old governor was recalled, and soon after reaching England he died. Colonel Chicheley and Lord Culpeper were successive governors during the next few years. The colony had made some recovery of popular rights, as the consequence of the late rising; but there seems to have been little of political life, and the general poverty, caused by low prices of tobacco, was great. After repeated attempts to reduce the supply of tobacco by a general stoppage of production for one year, there was finally a mob-rising, in 1682, to destroy the plants, and this was not suppressed until some of the ringleaders had been hanged.

Berkeley's revenge.

Tobacco riot, 1682.

44. King Philip's War in New England. 1675–1678. The Indian outbreak in Virginia, which Bacon crushed, was nearly simultaneous with one that gave to

all New England its most terrible experience of savage war. This war in New England was begun by that tribe of the Wampanoags, or Pokanokets, whose friendship had been won by the Pilgrims at their first coming, and preserved in appearance for more than fifty years. There seem to have been no flagrant wrongs of which the Indians could complain; but they were made to feel more and more that the white men were their masters; they were called to account for what they did by the white men's magistrates; they had sold lands which they were sorry they had given up; they had lost independence, and their pride was sore. An outbreak was brought about in 1675 by the trial and execution of three Wampanoags for the murder of one of their own race. It was led by the son and successor of Massasoit, named Metacom by his own people, but called Philip by the whites. Philip began war in June, 1675, by destroying two villages, killing men, women, and children with tortures too horrible to be described. Massachusetts sent speedy help to Plymouth, and the Wampanoags were driven from their own territory to that of the Nipmucks, who joined them in furious attacks on settlements in the Connecticut valley, and on those farther east, almost to Boston itself. In October the Narragansetts were found to be making ready to take the field, and were surprised in their camp by an attack so destructive that their strength was broken by the single blow. Wherever the savages could be reached and struck, they stood no chance against the white man's wrath; but most of the country was still covered with forest, in which they could watch for opportunities to surprise some settlement or ambush some troop on the march. Warfare of that horrible kind went on for nearly two years, spreading to the Indians of New

Cause of the war.

Attacks on settlements.

Hampshire and Maine. It was ended in the summer of 1678, when Philip — called King Philip — was hunted down and slain. A thousand white men and a great number of women and children perished in the war; many women and children were carried into barbarous captivity; over forty towns had suffered, and twelve were destroyed. The white population of New England at about the time of the outbreak of King Philip has been estimated at 60,000, fully half of it in Massachusetts; the Indians are supposed to have numbered about 36,000. Many of these, including the Mohegans as a whole, took no part in the war. Of the tribes that took part, few male members were left; most of those not slain were sent to the West Indies to be sold as slaves.

Death of King Philip.

45. English Loss and Recovery of New York. — Governor Andros. 1673–1674. These years of trouble in America had been years of war and of grave threatening to domestic peace in England, whose people suffered more and more from the total want of principle and of self-respect in their king. His shameful war with Holland after the seizure of New York was followed by a still more shameful war with the same country in 1672. In the course of this latter war the Dutch recaptured New York and held possession of it for six months (1673–74). Then, when public feeling in England compelled the king to make peace, Holland yielded the colony a second time, and it was granted once more to the Duke of York.

Second war with Holland.

On recovering the province, in 1674, the Duke of York sent out a new governor, Major Edmund Andros (afterward Sir Edmund), who played an important part in American history during the next fifteen years, and left a bad name in it, because of the hardness and harsh-

ness with which he used his arbitrary powers. His vigor was useful in some important matters, especially in measures which established an alliance of the English with the Five Nations of the Iroquois, and organized the management of Indian affairs. He was not so careful, however, to cultivate the good-will of his subjects and neighbors. The duke's province, by the terms of his grant, extended eastward to the Connecticut River; but Colonel Nicolls, the first English governor, saw that it was unwise to try to steal so much territory from the colony of Connecticut, and made a compromise, which placed his boundary only twenty miles beyond the Hudson. Andros, on the contrary, attempted to enforce the full claim; but the men of Hartford faced him so resolutely, even in the midst of their dreadful Indian war, that he drew back. He did, however, secure the whole of Long Island, which had been in dispute between Connecticut Englishmen at one end and Manhattan Dutchmen at the other.

Alliance with the Five Nations.

Long Island added to New York.

A more irritating conflict arose between Andros and Philip Carteret, governor of New Jersey. The grantees of the New Jersey province, Carteret and Berkeley, had divided it between them, and Berkeley had sold his part — West Jersey — to two Quakers. By the Dutch reconquest, in 1673, the grant was supposed to be extinguished, and the Duke of York, on recovering his proprietorship, made a new grant of East Jersey to Carteret, which seemed to convey no political sovereignty, as the original grant had done, but mere ownership of the soil. Andros, accordingly, claimed to be governor of New Jersey, as well as New York, and seized the person of the Jersey governor; but his conduct was disapproved by the Duke of York, who then conveyed to Carteret full governing powers. The same

Sale of West Jersey to Quakers.

was done to the Quaker purchasers of West Jersey, where the contentious Andros had been ruling with an equally high hand.

Andros was now called to England, and a better man, Colonel Thomas Dongan, was sent out in his place. Meantime, the deputy-governor of New York had trouble with the people, who would not endure any longer to be governed in a purely arbitrary way. Amongst all the English colonies, theirs only had no representative legislature, and their demand for an Assembly became now so resolute that it moved the duke. The new governor brought instructions for an election, which was held soon after he arrived, and the first representative Assembly in New York was convened in October, 1683.

New York's first Assembly, 1683.

46. William Penn. In New Jersey, the two Quaker buyers of Lord Berkeley's grant had quarrelled soon after their purchase was made, and William Penn, the foremost member of their sect in England, was called in to arbitrate between them. This resulted in Penn's becoming engaged, as a trustee, in the management of West Jersey affairs. A little later, East Jersey was purchased from Sir George Carteret by Penn and others, and so the whole New Jersey province passed under Quaker control. In its Quaker character it was soon overshadowed by another, which arose beside it, as Penn's personal domain.

Quaker purchase of East Jersey, 1682.

This excellent man, William Penn, the son of a distinguished English admiral, Sir William Penn, had been reared in habits of wealth, in the midst of the influences of a corrupt and frivolous court, but had broken away from them all. At the age of eighteen or nineteen, while a student at Oxford, he joined the most despised and abused of religious sects, because the simple purity and

Christian democracy of its teaching took hold of his reason and his heart. He bore persecution with his fellow believers; bore the anger of his father and the ridicule of his courtly friends, and won respect by the calm dignity with which he carried himself through it all. Admiral Penn enjoyed the friendship of the king and the Duke of York, and their favor was extended to his son. In 1670 the admiral died, leaving an ample fortune, besides a claim on the crown for £16,000. When the heir to the claim, William Penn, became interested in projects of Quaker colonization, he offered to take a grant of the territory between Maryland, New York, and New Jersey, in payment of the royal debt. His proposal was accepted, and in March, 1681, he received the patent which conveyed to him that magnificent domain. He wished to name it either Sylvania or New Wales; but the king prefixed "Penn" to the "Sylvania," in memory of the admiral, and so the name has stood.

The grant of Pennsylvania, 1681.

47. The Founding of Pennsylvania. In this case the royal charter created "a province and seigniory," but not of the palatine order, the immediate sovereignty of the king being reserved. In emergencies, the proprietor and his representatives might make laws; but legislation in general for the province was to be with "the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen" hereof, "or of their delegates or deputies." The king pledged himself and his successors not to impose any custom or taxation on the province unless "with the consent of the proprietary, or chief governor and assembly, or by act of Parliament in England." This royal affirmation of a jurisdiction in Parliament over colonial affairs was something new, and indicates the growing strength of that body under the restored English crown.

Terms of Penn's charter.

Penn's territory, as conveyed by the royal grant, did not touch the sea. That was an imperfection which he sought to correct by obtaining a grant from the Duke of York of a strip of territory claimed by the latter on the western shore of Delaware Bay, and down to Cape Henlopen. It was territory covered by the older grant to Lord Baltimore; but the Swedes had settled it first; the Dutch had taken it from the Swedes; the King of England had got it back from the Dutch and had given it to the Duke of York; so that Baltimore's title to that part of his Maryland principality seemed to be extinct. This grant, and the uncertain definition of Penn's southern boundary in the king's grant, opened double disputes between him and the heirs of Lord Baltimore, which went on for many years. They were not settled until 1767, when the southern boundary of Pennsylvania was fixed finally by two surveyors, named Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, and became famous in later history as "Mason and Dixon's Line."

"Mason and Dixon's Line," 1767.

In the summer of 1682 Penn sailed from England with about 100 colonists, mostly Quakers, and was preceded and followed by so many that not less than 3000 are believed to have been brought to the Delaware within the first year. Some settlements had been planted already on the western bank of the river, and one of them, changed in name from Upland to Chester, became the seat of government for a time. An assembly of freemen, held there in December, adopted a "Frame of Government," submitted by Penn, and a body of laws. The people of the district on Delaware Bay, called "the lower counties," which Penn held only by deed from the Duke of York, with no political power, were represented in this assembly, and were annexed to Pennsylvania by an Act of

Penn's "Frame of Government," 1682.

Union, passed with their own consent. Freedom of worship for all who acknowledged one God was established by the laws; but only those believing in the divinity of Jesus Christ could hold office or vote. If qualified by that belief, all inhabitants who bought or rented certain quantities of land, or paid certain taxes, were recognized "freemen," entitled to vote.

Before Penn's arrival in the province, his cousin, William Markham, sent out as his deputy in 1681, had taken steps toward buying lands from the Indians; and there seems to be little doubt that Penn himself had a meeting with the Delaware or Lenape tribe, at Shackamaxon, and negotiated a treaty of purchase with them there. Though such a meeting has been often described and pictured, there is no positive proof that it occurred. It is an altogether probable incident, however, in William Penn's dealings with the red men, whose confidence and affection he won.[1]

Penn and the Indians.

48. Philadelphia. 1682–1685. A few days after his landing at Chester, the proprietor was rowed in a barge from that town to the site on which he began immediately to plan and build the city of Philadelphia. Within three years the town was reputed to have 2500 inhabitants, and the province 8000. Pennsylvania had risen at a bound to the rank which she never lost, among the most flourishing of the colonies in the New World. A just and large-minded man had been made the architect of the young commonwealth, and when, in 1684, other affairs called him to England, he had reason to feel satisfied with the foundations he had laid.

[1] Copies of many of the Indian deeds of land to Penn, stating the things given in payment, are in the first volume of *Pennsylvania Archives* (1664–1747), with facsimiles of the curious pictorial marks with which they were signed.

If he could have stayed with the people as their governor, it is probable that their rights and his authority would have found an easy adjustment; but as it was, the Frame of Government worked badly, and underwent many unsuccessful changes in the fifteen years of his absence abroad.

Separation of the Delaware counties, 1691.

In that period, the so-called "lower counties," over which Penn had no political control, broke away from their union with Pennsylvania (1691), and assumed practically the independence which gave being, at last, to the little State of Delaware.

49. Annulment of the Massachusetts Charter. 1684. Since the close of the last war with Holland (1674) the political situation in England had been undergoing a remarkable change. Circumstances had broken down the party in opposition to the court, and left the king more absolute in power than he had been since the early years of his reign.[1] The kingdom suffered heavily from this Tory reaction, and its colonies suffered quite as much. The old design against Massachusetts, to break the stubborn independence of her Puritan rulers, was renewed, with advantages not held before. The king was stronger, not only at home, but in the colony itself. A party quite of the Tory character was rising, in the large class of people not qualified to vote. The disaffection had been cultivated artfully by an agent, Edmund Randolph, sent to Boston in 1676.

Edmund Randolph, 1676-1684.

The measures that were taken cannot be traced in de-

[1] It was at this time that the king's party began to be called "Tories" and their opponents "Whigs." "Tory" was an epithet from Ireland, where it signified an outlaw of the bogs; "Whig" was a Scotch word of obscure origin; both were meaningless in their political use.

tail here. It is enough to say that the cherished charter of Charles I. to "the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay" was finally "cancelled, vacated, annihilated," by a decree of the English Court of Chancery, on the 21st of June, 1684. The ruin to the Massachusetts colonists which this decree involved was limited by nothing but the mercy of the king. It left them with no rights. Their charter was their title-deed for everything they owned; it was their warrant for everything they had done; it was the ground of everything in their colonial life. To declare it void was to declare that the king had never surrendered ownership of the soil on which they stood; that they were trespassers on his property and might be dealt with as he pleased; that they had never been empowered to organize a colonial government; that all the acts of their colonial government were invalid and all their laws annulled. They had no reason to hope that the king would give the decree any less than this sweeping effect, and he showed very soon that no generous intention was in his mind. But before his plans for dealing with the colony had been perfected, he was stricken with apoplexy and died, in February, 1685.

At the mercy of the king.

Death of Charles II.

50. The Rule of "Captain-General" Andros. 1686–1689. James, Duke of York, who then came to the throne, as James II., differed from his late brother, in some respects, for the worse. Finding his colony of Massachusetts delivered up to him, by an English court, for whatever treatment he chose to bestow, he planned to crush the other colonies, or most of them, to the same state, and then tie them together under one royal governor, who should have the largest possible powers. He chose for that office his old hard-handed servant, Sir Edmund Andros, who always did what he was told,

in the most offensive way. Andros, commissioned as "Captain-General and Governor of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion in New England," was sent to Massachusetts in 1686 to begin his work, and the high-spirited colonists of the Bay writhed under his absolute authority for the next three years. Their General Court was abolished; their town meetings were stripped of the control of local taxes; their press was gagged; the writ of habeas corpus was suspended; all public records were seized and brought to Boston; arbitrary taxes were levied, and property owners paid extortions called "quit-rent" to save the titles to their lands.

Andros in Massachusetts.

Going to New Haven in October, Andros demanded a surrender of the Connecticut charter; but the cherished parchment was spirited away and hidden, as tradition tells, in the hollow trunk of a tree, known afterwards as the "Charter Oak." He assumed the government of Connecticut, however, as well as that of Plymouth, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine. New York and New Jersey were subjected to his jurisdiction in the spring of 1688, and he then ruled from the Delaware to the St. Croix, with little limit to his power. No change in the government of the other colonies was made; but a suit to break the charter of Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, was begun.

Charter Oak.

Extent of Andros's rule.

51. The "Glorious Revolution" in England. 1688. Happily the rule of Captain-General Andros, as well as that of his royal master, was brief. Before the end of the year 1688 a "glorious revolution" (so considered and described at the time) drove James II. from England, and called his daughter Mary, with her husband, William, Prince of Orange, to the throne.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

35. Virginia under Charles II.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Navigation Act of 1660 and its effect on Virginia. Bruce, i. 355–365; Doyle, i. 306–310.

2. The restored government of Sir William Berkeley. Cooke, 216–236; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 237–241.

RESEARCH. — What is to be thought of the instruction from England that Virginia planters should be encouraged "to build towns upon every river"? How are towns brought into existence?

36. New England and the King.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Attitude of New Englanders toward the restored monarchy. 2. The Massachusetts statement "Concerning our Liberties." Winsor, *Boston*, i. 349–356; Doyle, iii. 146–150, 173–175; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 454–457.

RESEARCH. — The meaning of the term "a body politic."

37. Connecticut and Rhode Island Chartered. — New Haven Absorbed.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Charter for Connecticut secured by the younger John Winthrop (text in MacDonald, i. 116–119; Preston, 96–109). 2. Territory granted in the charter. 3. Reasons for hostility to New Haven at the English court. Doyle, ii. 150–162; Hart, *Contemp's*, 420–422.

4. Migration from New Haven to the Passaic. Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 13, 14.

5. The Rhode Island charter (text in MacDonald, i. 125–133; Preston, 110–129). Its provision for religious liberty. Arnold, i. ch. ix.

RESEARCH. — Vengeance of the restored English monarchy on the "regicides." Green, 603–604. Persecution of Nonconformists in England. Green, 606–610; Gardiner, 585–588, 590; Larned, *England*, 449, 451.

38. The Founding of the Carolinas.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The palatine proprietary province founded in the Carolinas. 2. Previous settlements in the territory of the new colony. 3. Early introduction of slavery and servitude. 4. John Locke's constitution (text in MacDonald, i. 120–125, 149–168). McCrady, i. ch. i.–v.; Doyle, i. 438–458; Fiske, *Old Va.*, ii. 270–278; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 275–280.

RESEARCH. — John Locke: for what was he distinguished? Larned, *England*, 469.

39. Conquest of New Netherland, which becomes New York.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. English seizure of the Dutch colonies without a declaration of war. 2. The king's grant to his brother, the Duke of York (text in MacDonald, i. 133–139). 3. The double commission to Colonel Nicolls. 4. The Dutch surrender. 5. Changes of names. O'Callaghan, ii. b'k 6, ch. vii; Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, i. 283–292; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 537–541.

40. Origin of New Jersey.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Sale of territory by the Duke of York. 2. Provision for the government of the province (text in MacDonald, i. 139, 141). Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 10–15; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 563–566.

41. Resistance to the King's Commissioners in Massachusetts.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Submission to the commissioners in Connecticut, Plymouth, and Rhode Island. 2. Refusal in Massachusetts to let them hear appeals. 3. Grounds of the refusal. Hutchinson, i. 229–257; Winsor, *Boston*, i. 357–363; Palfrey, ii. 582–590, 597–618; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 53–63; Doyle, iii. 182–192.

4. Success of Massachusetts in prolonging the controversy. 5. Defence of territorial claims of the colony. 6. Disobedience to

royal commands. Palfrey, ii. 618–634; Doyle, iii. 192–197; Hutchinson, i. 260–269.

7. Growing opposition to the king of England. Green, 618–621; Larned, *England*, 452–456.

RESEARCH. — The claims that conflicted with those of Massachusetts in New Hampshire and Maine. Palfrey, i. 204–206, 524–525, ii. 618–621; Hutchinson, i. 313–319.

42. Berkeley's Ill-government in Virginia.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The people deprived of political rights. 2. The king's grant to Arlington and Culpeper. 3. Unfulfilled promise of a charter. Burke, ii. appendix; Doyle, i. 313–319.

43. Bacon's Rebellion.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Immediate occasion for the outbreak. 2. Election of a new House of Burgesses and its action. 3. Renewal of hostilities between the insurgents and the governor. 4. Bacon's death and its consequences. — His character. 5. Berkeley's savage revenge. 6. Berkeley's successors. — The Tobacco Riot. Burke, ii. 194; Cooke, 237–297; Doyle, i. 319–352; Fiske, *Old Va.*, ii. ch. xi.; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 242–246.

44. King Philip's War in New England.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Causes of the Indian outbreak. 2. Spread of hostilities. 3. Consequences of the war to whites and Indians. Fiske, *Beginnings*, 211–241; Doyle, iii. ch. iii.; *Contemp's*, i. 458–461; Hubbard, *O. S. Leaf.*, 88.

45. English Loss and Recovery of New York. — Governor Andros.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Affairs in England. — Renewed war with Holland. — Loss and recovery of New York. 2. Governor Andros and his aggressions in Connecticut and New Jersey. 3. Quaker purchase of

West Jersey. Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 25–61 ; Roberts, i. 103–114, 178–186.

4. New York under Governor Dongan. — Its first Assembly. Roosevelt, *New York*, 51–57 ; Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 168–171.

46. William Penn.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Penn's engagement in New Jersey affairs. 2. His life and character. 3. Circumstances of the royal grant to him of a vast American province (text in MacDonald, i. 183). Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 114–118, 140–150 ; Sharpless, 30–39.

RESEARCH. — The early life of Penn. Hodges, ch. i.–iv.

47. The Founding of Pennsylvania.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Character of the proprietary province created by Penn's charter. 2. Jurisdiction of Parliament over colonial affairs affirmed. Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 151–153.

3. Additional grant to Penn by the Duke of York. 4. Disputes with Lord Baltimore and their settlement. — "Mason and Dixon's Line." Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, 98–103 ; Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 152.

5. Penn's first settlements. 6. The first Pennsylvania Assembly and the "Frame of Government" (text in MacDonald, i. 192–199). 7. Annexation of the "lower counties." Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 557–558.

8. Penn's dealing with the Indians. Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 158–166.

RESEARCH. — Were the Indians rightful owners of the soil of this continent when the whites came to settle upon it? If so, had their chiefs the right to sell tracts of it? When making such sales, were they likely to understand the nature of the transaction? Where one tribe had driven out another, which was the rightful owner?

48. Philadelphia.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The founding of Philadelphia and the progress of the colony. 2. Penn's return to England. — The colony in his absence. 3.

Political separation of the "lower counties," which became Delaware. Hodges, ch. v.–vi.; Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 153–158; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 554–557.

49. Annulment of the Massachusetts Charter.

Topics and References.

1. Changed political situation in England. Green, 639–642.

2. A growing Tory party in Massachusetts. 3. Annulment of the Massachusetts charter. — The colony at the mercy of the king. Ellis, ch. xiii.; Winsor, *Boston*, i. 364–375; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 77–79; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 255–267; Doyle, iii. 284–292, 298–299; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 462–463.

4. The king's death. Green, 643.

50. Rule of "Captain-General" Andros.

Topics and References.

1. Accession of King James II. 2. Rule of Andros as Captain-General and Governor of New England. 3. Extension of his authority to New York and New Jersey. Hutchinson, i. 353–372; Winsor, *Boston*, ii. 1–13; Fiske, *Beginnings*, 267–271; Doyle, iii. 303–323; Hart, *Contemp's*, i. 423–425.

51. The "Glorious Revolution" in England.

Topics and References.

1. Expulsion of James II. from the throne. — Accession of William and Mary. Macaulay, ch. ix.; Green, 644–651, 657–660; Gardiner, 643–648; Larned, *Eng.*, 466–467.

STATE OF THE COLONIES IN THE LAST YEARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The English Revolution of 1688. The English Revolution of 1688, which swept the intolerable Stuart dynasty from the throne, which riveted upon the monarchy a parliamentary constitution that could not any longer be misunderstood, and which drew England into a long conflict with France, was an event of great importance to the Englishmen of the colonies, as well as to those at home. It opened what was really a new era in history, on both sides of the sea. Before we try to sketch the working of changes produced by it on the American side, it will be well to survey briefly the state of the colonies when the seventeenth century was drawing to its close.

A new era.

Population of the Colonies. Of the thirteen colonies afterward federated in the Republic of the United States, all save Georgia had then been planted, but the Carolinas were not yet formally divided, and the separateness of Delaware was not quite a fixed fact. Among them, the New England group was the most populous; its people had gripped the resources of their country with the greatest energy, making the most of what it gave them, and their communities had acquired the firmest footing in the land. Of these Massachusetts was so much in the lead that its people far outnumbered all the rest. As estimated by Mr. Bancroft, the Bay Colony, together with Plymouth and Maine (both small), contained about 44,000 people in 1688; while Connecticut held 17,000 to 20,000, Rhode Island (with Providence) 6000, and New Hampshire 6000, making a total for New England of 73,000 to 76,000. The same estimate gives Virginia a population of 50,000, Maryland 25,000, New

New England.

York 20,000, Pennsylvania and Delaware 12,000, New Jersey 10,000, and the Carolinas 8000, together. This reckons the total population of the English colonies in America at 200,000.[1]

Economic Condition. In all the colonies, the products of industry were limited in variety, but more so in the south than in New England, where every natural resource was turned to account as fast as it could be done. Except in forest trees, the New England soil gave little that the colonists could use for outside trade. They cultivated it for their own foods, and made early use of its pastures for cattle and sheep; but it yielded them only a small surplus of breadstuffs and meats for sale. Their one staple commodity in the early years, and their chief one for a long period, was fish. Says Mr. Weeden, the economic historian of New England, writing of the period between 1662 and 1685: "The business of the fisheries enters into all the doings of the time. Whenever we turn over the stray papers of a seventeenth century merchant, we find evidences great and small of his constant intercourse with fish and fishermen." The fisheries led to ship-building, for which the neighboring forests furnished the best of timber, and both together stimulated enterprise in navigation and the carrying trade. "Sawing lumber," says Mr. Weeden, "building and freighting vessels, constituted commerce;" "but the immediate motive to cut timber, or to lay a keel, was in the immediate return always ready and waiting for a projected cargo of fish."[2] The New Englanders built ships to sell, but they kept more and more of them in their own hands, and used them busily, in an increasing commerce with the neighboring colonies, with the West Indies, with England, and with Spain. From their own ports they carried mostly fish, timber, lumber, masts and spars,

New England fisheries.

Shipping and commerce.

[1] Bancroft, *Hist. of the U. S.* (author's last revision), ii. 608.

[2] Weeden, *Economic and Social Hist. of New England*, i. 247, 371.

staves, and sometimes "houses ready framed." From southern ports and the West Indies they took tobacco, sugar, tar, pitch, and other commodities, going chiefly abroad. With numerous excellent harbors on their coast, the New Englanders were impelled by every circumstance to be a maritime and commercial people, and the impulse was obeyed.

Virginia and Maryland were as well supplied as New England with good timber, and had no lack of fine harbors, on Chesapeake Bay and on their noble rivers; but they did almost nothing in ship-building, took almost no part in the carrying trade, and put their forests to little commercial use. They lacked the stimulus and training of a great fishing industry; and the tobacco culture in those colonies was stifling to everything else (see sect. 31). "The Virginia planter did not, like the New England farmer, have to seek the foreign purchaser; the buyer of the only staple of Virginia sought its plantations." [1]

Virginia and Maryland.

In the Carolinas, all industries were still in their small beginnings. The northern district was beginning to compete with New Hampshire and Massachusetts in the exportation of tar, pitch, timber, and other products of the kind called "naval stores;" the southern district was beginning experiments with rice, cotton, and indigo; but only rice gave promise, so far, of success. Furs to England, and pork, beef, hides, and tallow to the northern colonies and the West Indies, were the main exports from the Carolinas at this time.

The Carolinas.

Pennsylvania was very young as an English colony, and its early products were altogether from the forests and the soil; its great mineral riches were scarcely known. In New Jersey the conditions were much the same.

Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

New York was somewhat laggard in growth. Except on Manhattan and Long Islands, its settlements were a fringe along the banks of the Hudson, up to Albany, with Sche-

[1] Bruce, *Economic Hist. of Virginia*, ii. 435.

nectady for a solitary outpost toward the west. The fur trade, its chief interest, was greatly cut down by the fierce wars of the Five Nations with the French and with the tribes of the whole region of the Great Lakes, even to Illinois. The farms and forests of the province were furnishing something to colonial commerce, in timber and foodstuffs, but to no large extent. The city of New York, however, was the convenient centre of a good deal of trade. New York.

The English Navigation Acts.[1] All development of the resources of the colonies, all attempts to multiply their industries and extend their trade, were grievously hampered by English laws which aimed to gather every kind of profit from them into English hands. The short-sighted selfishness of such laws was not peculiar to England, but governed the colonial policy of every nation in that age. It expressed itself first in what is known as the Navigation Act of 1651, passed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, after the execution of King Charles. That act forbade the importation of goods into England in any other than English ships or ships of the country producing the goods. Its main purpose was to stop the employment of Dutch ships in English trade; but the commerce of the colonies was badly injured by the effects of the act. English traders and shippers were not satisfied, however, with this law, and in 1660, 1663, and 1672, after the monarchy had been restored, fresh enactments were devised for the purpose of monopolizing every gain to be got from colonial trade. The first of the new Navigation Acts required the colonies to import and export everything in English ships. The next one allowed nothing from Europe to enter any colony unless it had been passed through (*i. e.*, been laden at and shipped from) an English port, and had been carried "directly thence." The declared object Act of 1651. Acts of 1660, 1663, and 1672.

[1] Bruce, *Economic Hist. of Virginia*, i. 345–365; Weeden, *Economic and Social Hist. of New England*, i. 232–241.

of this measure was to keep the colonies in "a firmer dependence" on the mother country. Finally, the legislation of 1672 forbade the shipping of certain enumerated commodities, including tobacco, sugar, cotton, ginger, and indigo, from any colony without a bond being given for their delivery in England, or else payment of a heavy duty in advance; the purpose being to stop evasions of the law. These oppressive enactments were accompanied and followed by many others that were much complained of, under the general name of the "acts of trade."

That the navigation laws and other "acts of trade" did not strangle the colonies in their infancy was because they could not be fully enforced. The New Englanders, with their chartered "home rule," and with their own shipping in hand, could not be controlled by the acts; and that was a principal reason for the steady hardening of a determination in the English government to break the charters, regardless of the bad faith involved. Virginia, as a royal colony, and dependent on other ships and shippers for the handling of her trade, was more at the mercy of the English laws. While the Dutch were at Manhattan, they managed much contraband trading with Virginia; after they lost their footing in America, the navigation acts were more strictly enforced in Chesapeake Bay.

Contraband trade.

In the earlier years of the colonies, there were none but English merchants and ship-owners who watched America to make sure, as far as possible, that nothing was bought and sold there, nor shipped thence, to the profit of anybody but themselves. But as the colonists became able, more and more, to *make* things for themselves, another class, composed of manufacturers and mechanics, began to demand laws for the suppression of all colonial industries that could come into competition with their own. This demand was just becoming energetic at the time now described. It was inspiring strenuous efforts to induce the colonists to devote themselves to the production of "naval

Oppressive "acts of trade."

stores," — spars, timber, pitch, tar, hemp, etc., — and to let lighter manufactures alone. We shall find it working much more vigorously in the period that follows.

Slavery and Indentured Servitude. There were slaves in all the colonies, and there were indentured or bound white servants (see sect. **34**) in them all. Everywhere except in the Carolinas the indentured servants, up to this time, outnumbered the slaves. It was not until after the eighteenth century was begun that negro slavery became dominant in the labor system of both Virginia [1] and Maryland. In all the colonies there were Indian slaves, — captives taken in the Indian wars, — and their number in the Carolinas was considerable; elsewhere it was small. In the northern colonies there were no industries in which large gangs of slaves could be employed with profit, and that kind of unintelligent, *driven* labor never came into extensive use. On moral grounds there was no objection to it felt very widely, except in Rhode Island and amongst the Quakers. Rhode Island passed an act in 1652 declaring that "no black mankind or white" shall be "held to service longer than ten years." [2] Subject to this limitation, both slavery and bond service were tolerated. In the Massachusetts "Body of Liberties," adopted in 1641, it was declared: "There shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage, or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just

Little moral aversion to slavery.

[1] "In 1671 there were 6000 servants to 2000 slaves in Virginia. By 1683 the number of servants had doubled, while that of the slaves had increased by only one third. From this time forth servitude gave way before slavery, which was forced on the colony in the large importation of negroes by the royal African Company under its exclusive charter. It was the policy of the king, and of the Duke of York, who stood at the head of the company, to hasten the adoption of slavery by enactments cutting off the supply of indented servants." Ballagh, *Hist. of Slavery in Virginia* (*Johns Hopkins Studies*), p. 10.

[2] *Records of the Colony of R. I.*, i. 243.

wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us."[1] In what manner the few negro slaves finally found in Massachusetts were obtained does not appear. There seem to have been less than 400 in the colony at the close of the seventeenth century.

The Quakers of Pennsylvania began to take ground against the importation and purchase of African slaves as early as 1696; but slavery existed in the province, to a limited extent, for more than a century after that time. The number of indentured servants in Pennsylvania was larger than elsewhere. This resulted from Penn's wide advertising of the attractions of his province, in Germany and other parts of the continent, as well as in England, which drew a multitude of poor people, who paid for their passage to America by selling their labor in advance for a term of years. A student of the subject has estimated that "at least one third of the early immigrants were servants."[2] In New Jersey they were numerous; they were fewer in New York, where more negro slaves were owned; but slavery got no more of an economic footing in New York than in other parts of the north.

Indentured servants in Pennsylvania.

Education and Literature. It is a fact undoubted, that the early colonists of New England were generally of a class better educated and more intellectual than those who came to other settlements in the New World. It was necessarily so, because, as a rule, they were people who had been moved by a belief — by a deep conviction of mind — to seek the new home. We cannot help seeing that the beliefs which moved them were thoughtfully formed, even when there seems to be narrowness in some of the grounds on which they rest. They represent a mental quality quite above that which appears in the common motives of

Early New Englanders.

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 3d series, vii. 231.

[2] Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania*, p. 27; Hart, ed., *Am. Hist. told by Contemporaries*, ii. ch. xvi.

life. There are proofs of that quality in two facts which especially distinguish the New England colonies, when compared with their neighbors of the middle and southern zone. The first appears in the prompt and broad provision for public education that was started by the pioneers of Massachusetts Bay as soon as they had fairly housed themselves (see sect. **11**), and followed in all the settlements as they spread. The second is found in the great body of valuable writings that has come down to us from those New England colonists of the first and second generations; the histories, narratives, and chronicles, the descriptions, the disquisitions, and controversies, which make us acquainted with them, and with what they thought and did, so much more than with the fathers of our country in other parts. The proportion among them of men and women who wielded a vigorous and sometimes eloquent pen was certainly large for that day. The names of William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Winthrop, Nathaniel Morton, Edward Johnson, John Mason, Francis Higginson, William Wood, John Josselyn, Roger Williams, Nathaniel Ward, Daniel Gookin, Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, Anne Bradstreet, Increase Mather, to say nothing of less noted writers, make up a remarkable list, for communities so young and so small.[1]

New England writers.

In Virginia the widely separated plantation life, and the absence of towns, made any such school system as that of New England impossible; but the interest in education was not the same. The influence of the government was against it, after the overthrow of the London Company (see sect. **5**), which had planned the founding of a colonial university and voted to endow it with 10,000 acres of land. That excellent project was killed by the killing of the company. In 1660 a new movement for the founding of "a college and free school" was started by the Virginia Assembly, but it languished until 1691, when the college of William and Mary was established, with the help of

Education in Virginia.

[1] Tyler, *History of American Literature*, 1607–1765.

the king and queen, who gave it their name. This seems to have been the first educational institution in Virginia, though there were, of course, teachers, privately employed.

Of five Virginia colonists in the first century who wrote some account of the country and their experiences in it, only two, William Strachey and Alexander Whittaker, were permanent settlers; the remaining three — namely, Captain John Smith, George Percy, and John Pory — were transient in their stay. So, too, was George Sandys, who, while holding office in Virginia, completed a translation of Ovid that was famous in its day.

Both in schools and in literary production, the other colonies, in this period, had not much to show. Penn had large ideas of education, and was influential, no doubt, in bringing about the opening of the Public Grammar School of Philadelphia, in 1689; but many political troubles in the early years of the colony frustrated his intention to make that the centre of a system of schools. In New York there was a sad neglect of education, and more, apparently, after the English took the province than before. In the middle of the next century it was said by the colonial historian, William Smith, "Our schools are of the lowest grade."

Pennsylvania and New York.

Massachusetts was the first of the colonies to obtain a printing-press. It was brought from London, with an equipment of type, and with several printers, by a minister named Joseph Glover, and was set up at Cambridge in 1638. A second press was added to the Cambridge printing establishment in 1660, long before any were working in other parts of the country. The next to arrive was set up near Philadelphia, by William Bradford, in 1686. Seven years later Bradford removed his business to New York.[1]

The press.

The French and their Claims in America. Throughout the seventeenth century colonization had been pushed by the

[1] Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century*, ch. v.; Fisher, ch. xxi.

French in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and in the regions surrounding the gulf of that name, quite as vigorously as by the English on the coasts farther south, but with very different results. The English colonies were described with truth as "plantations;" they were really *planted* communities, well-rooted, and growing with a life and nourishment of their own. To a greater or less extent, their people were self-governed, self-sustained, self-dependent, — trained for the care of themselves, and for feelings that identified them more with the country to which they had come than with the country they had left. The settlements in New France had no such *planting;* they were formations, not growths. All the energy they possessed was put into them by the paternal government of France, or by the trading companies that had monopolies in them, or by missionary priests. Everything was done for them; they were not allowed to do anything for themselves. Except traders and some adventurers, few colonists went to the country under any impulse of their own. They were gathered up by the king's agents and sent out in ship-loads, mostly young men and women, many of whom married with no knowledge of each other and were settled on small farms. It is not surprising to find the government of New France complaining that idleness, drunkenness, and disorder prevailed.

Paternally governed colonies.

With all the efforts made to send out colonists to New France, the white population, about 1683, did not exceed 10,000, it is said, scattered along both banks of the St. Lawrence, as far up as Montreal, where settlement was begun in 1640. But French missionaries, *coureurs de bois*, and ambitious explorers had been penetrating the far interior of the continent, learning its geography, obtaining influence among its Indian tribes, and establishing vast territorial claims for France, with an energy that the English did not imitate in the least. At some time not later than 1640, Jean Nicollet had gone beyond Lake Huron to Lake Michigan. In 1669 Jesuit missions were established at Sault Ste.

French exploration.

Marie and Green Bay. In 1673 Father Marquette and Louis Joliet made their way from Green Bay to the Mississippi River, and down that great stream to the Illinois, on which a new mission was planted by Marquette. In 1679 the famous explorer, La Salle, built a vessel on the Niagara River and navigated the Great Lakes to the foot of Lake Michigan, whence he went on to the Illinois and built a fort. Three years later, traversing the same route for the third time, he descended the Illinois to the Mississippi and the Mississippi to the Gulf, completing the exploration of the great river, and formally declaring that he took possession of the whole wide country drained by its tributaries for the king of France.

Thus, before the closing of the seventeenth century, the French had laid hands on the whole country west of the Appalachian mountain ranges, with none practically disputing their claim to it except the "Five Nations" of the confederacy of the Iroquois. Between those and the French there was continual war, and the latter had been driven, in 1688, to abandon the northern shore of Lake Ontario and the whole river St. Lawrence above Montreal to their savage foes. This was the situation at the opening of a long series of wars which was then at the point of outbreak between the English and the French.[1]

The French and the Iroquois.

[1] Parkman, *La Salle, and the Discovery of the Great West;* Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution,* ch. iii.; Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest,* ch. iii.–iv.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.
1688–1774.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD OF STRIFE WITH FRANCE. 1690–1760.

52. Overthrow of Andros. — A New Charter for Massachusetts. 1689–1691. When news of the flight of James II. from England, and of the elevation of King William and Queen Mary to the throne, reached Boston, in the spring of 1689, Massachusetts rose against Andros, as England had risen against James, imprisoned him for a time, and then sent him to London, to be dealt with by the new king and queen. Strenuous efforts to secure a restoration of the old charter were begun at once, and persevered in for three years; but reasons of English policy prevailed in the end, against the hope that the colonists entertained. The best they could obtain was a new charter, issued in October, 1691, which took away much of the self-government they had enjoyed so long. Their governor and other chief officials were to be appointed thereafter by the king; their general court was restored, but its acts were subject to veto by the governor or by the crown; their right of suffrage was made to depend on a property qualification, and no longer on membership in a church.

Efforts to recover the old charter.

Provisions of new charter, 1691.

Massachusetts was thus reduced to the status of a royal province, but not quite to that of Virginia and New York, where the people had no charter to define their rights. Territorially the colony was enlarged, by the annexation to it of Plymouth Colony and Maine. In 1697 it was united once more, for a time, with New York, under the same governor, Lord Bellomont. Connecticut and Rhode Island, whose charters had never been judicially annulled, were untouched, and their governments were unchanged.

Annexation of Plymouth and Maine, 1691.

53. New York and Jacob Leisler. 1689–1691. In New York, after learning of the revolution in England and the downfall of Andros at Boston, the deputy-governor, Nicholson, undertook to maintain his authority, and did so till the following June, when he was deposed, practically, by the militia trainbands of the town, and sailed for England to complain. One of the captains of the militia, Jacob Leisler, a wealthy German citizen, then took direction of affairs, expecting to be justified in what he did. Unfortunately, misled by ignorance and by bitter democratic feelings against an aristocratic class of citizens, he pursued a course which placed him fatally in the wrong. When, after long delay, King William appointed a governor and a deputy-governor, and the latter arrived in advance of the former, Leisler was mad enough not only to refuse surrender of the fort he held, but to fire on the king's troops, of whom the deputy had brought a small force. Even after the governor, Colonel Sloughter, came (March, 1691), Leisler held out, insisting on a written order from the king ; but his men surrendered, and he was seized. A fortnight later, he and his son-in-law, Milborne, were tried and condemned for firing on the troops. In May they were hanged. The

Nicholson deposed.

Jacob Leisler.

fair opinion seems to be that Leisler meant to be a patriot, but lacked knowledge and judgment for the part he undertook, and that his execution was a shameful crime.

Governor Sloughter brought instructions for the election of an Assembly, and the people were represented regularly in the government of the province from that time. For a long period they were divided between two factions, "Leislerians" and "Aristocrats," whose bitter quarrels and struggles had little to do with the interests of the community at large.

Leislerians and Aristocrats.

54. New Jersey. 1689–1702. In New Jersey, the overthrow of Andros left both provinces with no settled government, and with an open question as to whether the authority of the proprietors had been restored or not. This unsettled state continued until 1702, when the proprietors resigned their pretensions to a right of government, and the two Jerseys were united in a single royal province, with a legislature of its own, but under the same governor as New York.

55. Pennsylvania. 1689–1701. To the proprietor of Pennsylvania the change of king in England brought trouble for some years. The Stuarts had been friendly to him, and he owed them for much favor. Naturally, he was regarded with distrust by the new court. There was no interference, however, with the government he had established in Pennsylvania until 1693, when Penn's enemies prevailed with King William, and the great Quaker proprietor was stripped of political authority in his province, though his property rights in it, as a mere estate, were undisturbed. For a single year it was made a royal province, under the jurisdiction of the governor of New York; then, in

Penn and King William, 1693-1694.

August, 1694, the king's opinion of Penn seems to have changed, and all the powers conferred by his patent were restored.

In 1699 Pennsylvania was visited by its proprietor for the last time. He found Philadelphia grown to a city of four thousand people, and the whole colony increasing and thriving materially, but distracted by dissensions, even among the sober-minded Friends, and dissatisfied with the working of the Frame of Government. Throughout the two years of his stay he labored for an agreement upon amendments, and it was not until the eve of his departure, in 1701, that he signed with reluctance a "Charter of Privileges," as it was named, in which he conceded more than he wished to do, for the sake of peace. This charter remained the constitution of the colony until the colony became a State.

Penn's last visit. — His "Charter of Privileges."

56. Maryland. 1689–1715. Maryland had its own revolution, imitating the movement in England, as Massachusetts and New York had done. The Protestant inhabitants, who formed a majority of the population, rose in insurrection, in July, 1689, deposed the governor, and brought about the election of a convention, which arranged the government provisionally, while waiting for a response to appeals that went to England, both for and against the abrogation of proprietary rule. Anti-Catholic feeling in England bore too strongly against Lord Baltimore to be resisted, and the government of Maryland was taken out of his hands by the king in 1691. Then, once more, as in 1654 (see sect. **22**), the tolerance which the Lords Baltimore had upheld was swept away. Catholic forms of worship were forbidden, and no further admittance of Catholics to the province was allowed. The Church

Intolerance revived, 1691.

of England was established by law, and taxes were levied for its support. Until the death, in 1715, of the Lord Baltimore of that period (Charles Calvert), Maryland was governed as a royal province; but the proprietary government was restored to his son, Benedict, who had withdrawn from the Catholic church.

57. Virginia and the Carolinas. 1689. Virginia had shared very fully the feeling in England against King James, and the revolution, being accepted with satisfaction, caused no change in the course of affairs. Nothing occurred in the Carolinas to mark the revolutionary event. The two sections of the province, beginning to be distinguished commonly as North Carolina and South Carolina, were increasing in population very slowly, and still struggling through the long disorderly period of inefficient proprietary government.

58. Beginnings of the Conflict with France. 1690–1713. The revolution in England led to long wars with France. The Prince of Orange, who then became king of England, was the leading spirit in a great movement of combination among European powers to resist the aggressions of the French king, Louis XIV. England, drawn into that movement, was involved in a succession of tremendous conflicts, which became most important in the end as a struggle between the English and the French for supremacy in the New World.

The first of these wars, known in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg, but called "King William's War" by the colonists, and described sometimes in American history as the First Intercolonial War, was opened on this side of the ocean by raids from Canada on the northern settlements of the English, in the winter and spring of 1690. Count Frontenac, then governor of New France, did not scru-

King William's War, 1690–1697.

ple to employ his savage Indian allies in such ruthless attacks. One expedition of French and Indians from Montreal surprised the outlying settlement at Schenectady and barbarously massacred some sixty men, women, and children, carrying into captivity about thirty more. Other expeditions brought the horrors of the tomahawk and the scalping knife into New Hampshire and Maine.

Massachusetts retaliated promptly by a small naval expedition, under Sir William Phips, which captured Port Royal, in Acadia. While this was in progress, a congress of representatives from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York met at New York (May, 1690) and planned a combined campaign. Two expeditions, against Montreal by land and against Quebec by sea, were undertaken accordingly, and failed lamentably, with great discouragement to the colonies, and with consequences of public debt and paper-money mischiefs that weighed on them for years. In America, the war, throughout, was one of savage raids from Canada, retaliated by expeditions that had little effect. It was ended by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697.

Congress at New York.

Peace lasted but five years; then a fresh alliance against Louis XIV. was formed. England was joined with Holland, Austria, and most of the German states, in what is known as the War of the Spanish Succession, which raged for twelve years (1702–1714), in the Netherlands, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, America, and on the sea. In American history it is called the Second Intercolonial War, or "Queen Anne's War," — King William having died at the beginning of it and being succeeded by the Princess Anne, sister to Queen Mary, who had died in 1694.

Queen Anne's War, 1702-1714.

Again the French of Canada led their savage allies into Maine and New Hampshire, and down the valley of the Connecticut, to do horrible work at Wells, Saco, Casco, Deerfield, Lancaster, and other frontier settlements, in 1703 and 1704. Again there were retaliating expeditions which ravaged French settlements on the Acadian coast, and which finally, after a failure in 1706, captured Port Royal in 1709, and renamed it Annapolis, in honor of the queen. Again, too, there were undertakings, in 1709 and 1711, for the conquest of Canada, by expeditions in which colonial forces were to coöperate

PRINCIPAL FIELD OF KING WILLIAM'S AND QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

with English fleets and troops; but they were mismanaged and failed. The French had made peace with the Five Nations, binding the latter to neutrality, and they could not strike the English in the valley of the Hudson without intruding on the Iroquois domain. Hence New England had to bear most of the suffering of the war.

In America the conflict was not favorable to the English; but on the European field the English and

Dutch armies, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, won a series of astonishing victories, which broke the military prestige of France and humbled its arrogant king. He was forced to cede Acadia (named Nova Scotia by the English), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay to England, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713; agreeing further that "France should never molest the Five Nations subject to the dominion of Great Britain." But, while they gave way to this extent on the seaboard, the French in America were steadily widening and strengthening their hold of the two great interior valleys; winning the friendship of the Indians of the west, fortifying themselves at Detroit, planting colonies and trading stations near the mouth of the Mississippi and in the lower valley of the Ohio and on the Illinois. In appearance, if not in fact, France was binding the better and greater parts of North America to the dominion of her king.

Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

59. Growing Antagonism between the Colonies and the English Government. Experience in these conflicts with the French gave painful proof of the disadvantages to England that resulted from the political separateness of the American colonies, and the want of power to concentrate their military strength. The overcoming of those disadvantages was made difficult by the increasing disposition of the colonists to resent and resist interference with their domestic affairs. It was no longer Massachusetts or New England alone that showed a jealous sense of independent rights. The revolution in the mother country had given an object-lesson to the colonies that was instantly learned. By establishing the supremacy of Parliament in the government of Englishmen at home, it carried to English minds everywhere the conviction that no author-

Local independence demanded.

ity in government which did not represent the governed had any rightful claim to obedience or respect.

It was especially becoming a fixed idea in the minds of the colonists that taxes ought not to be levied on them by any authority save that of their own legislatures. By holding the purse strings of government they meant to control it, as the whole history of England had been teaching them how to do. To provide moneys only from year to year, by annual acts of assembly, even for governors' salaries, and thus to keep those officials dependent; to make all appropriations specific, for one designated use, and for no other; to have their own colonial treasurers, responsible to their own representatives, — these were now common aims in the colonies, and they were pursued nowhere more stubbornly than in New York.

Taxation resisted.

On the other hand, the dominant Whigs in England were unwilling to apply to the colonies the doctrines of representative government which they had established in the English constitution. Thus the English on the two sides of the Atlantic were becoming opposed in this period, even while they stood together in fight with France. Both felt the need of some unity of government in the colonies, for their own defence, and the subject was discussed; but colonists and English officials were each determined that no kind of union should be formed that might strengthen the other. The former would place the bond of union in a representative federal assembly; the latter would tighten it in the hands of a vice-royal governor and an appointed council. At the same time the several colonies were held apart by many jealousies and differences, and the prospect of a union among them was not at all bright.

Opposing ideas of colonial union.

60. The Board of Trade. — Oppressive "Acts of Trade." 1696–1706. In 1696 a special commission was established for the joint superintendency of commerce and colonial affairs. This Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations (commonly referred to as the Board of Trade or the Lords of Trade) was looked to thereafter for information and advice on questions of colonial and commercial policy, the two subjects being dealt with as one. The Board recommended a number of sharp measures which the government did not venture to carry out. In 1697 it advised the appointment of "a captain-general of all the forces and all the militia of all the provinces;" but the appointment was not made. In 1701 it proposed an act of Parliament to extinguish all charters and reduce the colonies to equal "dependency," and a bill to that effect was introduced in the House of Lords; but it did not pass. Nor did another bill for the same purpose that was brought into the House of Commons in 1706, on a report from the Board.

In matters of trade there was less hesitation to make the hard hand of parental control felt. New regulations for the enforcement of the navigation laws were passed in 1696, and in 1699 the determination of England that the colonies should do no important manufacturing for themselves was embodied in an act declaring that, "after the first day of December, 1699, no wool, or manufacture made or mixed with wool, being the produce or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, shall be loaden in any ship or vessel, upon any pretence whatsoever — nor loaden upon any horse, cart, or other carriage — to be carried out of the English plantations to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever."[1]

"Protection" to English industries.

[1] Bancroft, *Hist. of the U. S.* (author's last revision), ii. 81.

61. The Witchcraft Madness in Salem. 1692. In 1692 an affliction worse than oppressive government came upon Massachusetts, in an epidemic of frenzy on the subject of witchcraft, which seized the people of an important town. The superstitious belief that men and women might obtain a supernatural power to do harm to others, by wickedly selling their souls to Satan, was common everywhere in that age of the world. In all countries there were cruel laws against the supposed crime of witchcraft, and many supposed witches had been put to death ; but never elsewhere does there seem to have been such madness on the subject as that which made Salem the scene of horrible tragedies in 1692. Between July and September in that year nine innocent men and women were hanged ; one old man was pressed to death ; eight more who were condemned to die, and about a hundred and fifty who waited trial, were in prison when the season of madness passed.

62. Huguenot and German Immigration. Several colonies were now receiving an increased immigration, and from excellent classes of people, especially out of Germany and France. The German immigrants, mostly refugees from the country called the Palatinate, on the Rhine, which had been devastated barbarously by armies of Louis XIV., were settled in North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. Persecution of Protestants (Huguenots) in France had been driving great numbers from that country, and many found homes in America, South Carolina and New York receiving the larger share.

63. The Carolinas. 1690–1713. South Carolina was now entering on a more prosperous career, founded mainly on the cultivation of rice, and negro slavery was having a proportionate growth. Charleston was rising

to importance as a seat of trade, and a centre of wealth and culture.

In North Carolina much disorder still prevailed. The colony was afflicted with a serious Indian war, in 1711–13, begun by a horrible massacre of frontier settlers in September of the former year. The Iroquois tribe of Tuscaroras, which led in this attack, was driven finally from the country, and migrated to New York, where it was received into the Iroquois confederacy, making that a league of "Six Nations," instead of Five.

The Tuscaroras.

64. Incidents of Progress. 1701–1710. A notable event in Connecticut, within this period, was the founding at New Haven, in 1701, of the college which received somewhat later the name of its principal early patron, Elihu Yale. No less notable was the appearance at Boston, on the 24th of April, 1704, of the "News-Letter," the first newspaper printed in the New World.

Yale College, 1701.

The first newspaper.

In 1692 a postmaster for the northern colonies had been appointed by the king, but there seems to have been little that he found it possible to do. In 1710, however, an act of Parliament provided regulations for a postal system, which was gradually developed from that time; though some colonists were anxious lest a precedent for parliamentary taxation should hide itself in the postage rate.

Beginning of a postal system, 1692-1710.

65. The Hanoverian Kings. — Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole. 1714–1742. Queen Anne died in 1714, leaving no direct heir. A son of James II., styled "the Pretender," because he claimed to be the rightful king of England, was exiled in France, and excluded from the succession by an act of Parliament, which gave the crown to a German prince, George, Elector of Hanover and

Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, whose grandmother was the daughter of James I. This brought to England the family of sovereigns sometimes called Hanoverian, sometimes referred to as "the House of Brunswick," which still holds the throne. The English had no liking for their foreign king, who could not even speak their language, and a strong Tory party favored the Pretender's claims. Hence King George I. and the Whigs who sustained him held the government by a tenure that was insecure for many years. They were in no position to have trouble with the colonies, nor war with foreign powers, and the wise minister, Sir Robert Walpole, who conducted the government, avoided both. For a quarter of a century he kept England at peace, and generally in a state of prosperous content.

Sir Robert Walpole.

66. British Officials in the Colonies. In his political treatment of the colonies, Walpole refused to be guided by the Board of Trade. The Board took its opinions for the most part from the royal governors in America, who were not often men of character or ability, and who, having many quarrels with the colonial assemblies, represented to their superiors that the people of the plantations had no aim but to break themselves free from all British ties. It is abundantly proved that this was not then, nor long afterward, the fact. With increasing resoluteness, the English in America were claiming all the rights which the English in Great Britain enjoyed; especially the right of self-taxation, the right to control the expenditure of their own public moneys, and the right to a free press; but they claimed those rights as members of the British Empire, — as subjects of the British crown, — and there is no sign of a wish on their part, in those days, to be anything else.

67. The Question of Taxation. In one particular, at

least, the colonists weakened very seriously the ground on which they denied the right of the British Parliament to lay taxes upon them. They would not tax themselves for what seems to have been a reasonable share of the burdens of the war with France, nor, after the war, for a reasonable share of the cost of fortifying and garrisoning their own frontiers. It was this which gave to the royal governors and the Board of Trade their strongest argument when they appealed to Parliament to annul all charters, unite the colonies under a common government, and impose upon them a direct imperial tax.

Walpole on taxing the colonies.

They might have persuaded Parliament to act on their advice, but Sir Robert Walpole, who controlled it, was not to be moved. "I will leave the taxing of the British colonies," he is reported to have said, "to some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am." So those follies of arbitrary government were put off by Walpole's good sense until he lost control of Parliament, which happened in 1739; and then they were postponed still further by war with Spain and new wars with France, into which England was pushed.

68. Industrial and Commercial Oppressions. But, while Walpole refused to adopt the colonial policy urged by the Board of Trade in political matters, he accepted its commercial ideas, and satisfied the increasing demand of English merchants and manufacturers for measures to suppress colonial industries that seemed hurtful to British trade.[1] These intolerable measures were evaded to a large extent.

[1] "Every form of competition by colonial industry was discouraged or forbidden. It was found that hats were well made in the land of furs; the London company of hatters remonstrated, and

69. The Carolinas. 1719–1729. The wretched government in South Carolina which the proprietors maintained was overthrown in 1719, when the colonial Assembly refused to recognize the proprietary officials any longer, and seated a governor of its own choice. The revolutionary proceeding was winked at in England, where the proprietors were thought to have forfeited their charter by neglect and misuse, and a royal governor was sent out. Ten years later (1729) the proprietary rights were purchased by the crown, and both Carolinas then came under the direct rule of the king.

70. The Founding of Georgia. 1732–1752. In 1732 the last of the thirteen colonies which originally formed the United States of America was founded, as an enterprise of noble benevolence, by General James Oglethorpe. General Oglethorpe was moved by a deep feeling of pity for those unfortunate people who, in that age, suffered imprisonment for trifling debts. As a means of opening some hopeful future to them, and to others in need, he procured a charter from the king, creating a province named Georgia, to em-

General Oglethorpe.

their craft was protected by an act forbidding hats to be transported from one plantation to another. . . . English iron-mongers asked for a total prohibition of forges, and the English landlords of furnaces for preparing the rough material, because the fires in America diminished the value of British woodlands. In the conflict the subject was postponed. . . . In the seventh year of George I. the importation of East Indian goods into the colonies was prohibited, except from Great Britain. . . . Furs from the plantations were enumerated among the commodities which could be exported only to Great Britain; so, too, ore from the abundant copper mines of America. The reservation of the pine-trees of the north for the British navy was continued. . . . For colonists to manufacture like Englishmen was esteemed an audacity, to be rebuked and restrained by every device of law." Bancroft, *Hist. of the U. S.* (author's last revision), ii. 239–243.

brace the country that adjoins the Carolinas, between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, and from the sources of those streams due west to the Pacific. For twenty-one years it was to be placed under the guardianship of a corporation, "in trust for the poor." This was in territory claimed by Spain; but the English were resolved to make it their own. The first company of emigrants, led by Oglethorpe in person, sailed from England in November, 1732, and planted its settlement at Savannah early in the following year.

The province was to have no representative government until the twenty-one years of trusteeship were ended; meantime it was to have no slaves, and no intoxicating liquors were to be sold within its bounds; but slavery is said to have made its appearance within seven years, and rum, probably, was not behind. The government by trustees was abandoned, and Georgia became a royal or crown colony, with a representative Assembly, in 1752.

71. English Neglect of the Western Country. 1609–1716. The long neglect of the English in America even to explore the great expanse of continent beyond their narrow fringe of colonies on the coast seems very strange. Some traders had made their way across the mountains into parts of the western wilderness; but no exploration like that of the French, and no attempt to lay hold of the country, by posts, missions, or stations of any kind, had been made. The great valley to the west of them, which stretched its wide arms to the foot of the Appalachian hills, was little better known to the English who claimed it, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, than it had been to the first colonists, a hundred years before. It was not until 1716 that an enterprising governor of Virginia, Alexander Spotswood,

led a gay party of cavaliers across the Blue Ridge into the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah, and learned what a garden of paradise was there. Of the vast region beyond the further Alleghanies he had so little notion that he supposed, from something the Indians told him, that Lake Erie might be seen from one of the latter peaks. But he did become impressed with a sense of the need of vigorous action to hold, at least, the mountain passes, against the French, and urged the British government to take steps to that end.

Spotswood's exploration, 1716.

Others of the royal governors had begun to realize the seriousness of the situation which French activity in the west was bringing about; but the English government and the colonial assemblies were strangely indifferent still. A single measure, considerably at his own expense, was taken by Governor Burnet, of New York, in 1726, when he bought land at Oswego, from the Six Nations, and established there, first a trading-post, and then a small stone-walled fort. But that English foothold on Lake Ontario was a trifling thing compared with the forts and garrisons at Niagara and at Crown Point which the French added soon afterward to their chain of strong posts.

Fort at Oswego, 1726.

72. The Scotch-Irish in the Appalachian Valleys. 1704–1750. Something vastly more important, however, for the strengthening of the British colonies, than the mere building of forts, was being done at this time in Pennsylvania, with little consciousness of the effect. The large immigration to Penn's province had now pushed its settlements to the mountains, and a great stream which began to pour into the country from the north of Ireland flowed naturally into the valleys that lie between the parallel ridges of the Appalachian sys-

tem, stretching away to the southwest. It was a migration of people whose home had been in the Irish province of Ulster for two or three generations, but whose ancestry was Scotch. Oppressed on all sides, by the state, by the church, and by their landlords, these Scotch-Irish, as they are known, were drawn toward America by good reports of the freedom and prosperity enjoyed there, especially in the famous Quaker's lands. By many thousands every year, through all the half-century that preceded the American Revolution, they were coming in a scarcely broken stream, until half a million of this strong, intelligent population is believed to have been transferred to America, and settled mostly on the colonial frontier. A few went into other colonies, but the great majority sought the mountain region of Pennsylvania, filling it and pressing along its valleys into western Virginia and the highlands of the Carolinas, whence it overflowed, a little later, into Kentucky and Tennessee. The Scotch-Irish were not alone in that southwestward movement through the Appalachian valleys, for German and other immigrants were taking the same course; but the strength and character then given to the frontier settlement of the colonies came from the first-mentioned stock.

Home of the Scotch-Irish.

Immigration to America.

73. Death of William Penn. Pennsylvania was having a remarkably prosperous growth; yet in some respects it had disappointed Penn's hopes. It had caused him many troubles, and had cost him more than it yielded in return. In 1712 he proposed to relinquish his powers of government to the crown for £12,000, but was stricken with paralysis in the midst of the negotiation, and never recovered from the stroke, though he lingered in life for six years. The proprietorship of

the province passed at his death (1718) to three of his sons.

74. Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. It was soon after that time (in 1723) that Benjamin Franklin ran away from an irksome apprenticeship to his brother in Boston, and came, a penniless lad of seventeen, to begin his great career in Philadelphia, and to plant in that city many fertile ideas that have borne important fruits. He was the first of the grand characters of the coming Revolution to appear on the stage of action. When Franklin began typesetting in Philadelphia, neither Washington nor Jefferson nor John Adams was born, and Samuel Adams was an infant in arms.

75. Rise of the Newspaper Press. — The Winning of its Freedom. Before Franklin left Boston he had experience in that city of the want of freedom for the press. His brother, who published one of the three newspapers in Boston, had lately been imprisoned for a month, by order of the Assembly, on account of some article that gave offence. There were no other newspapers in America at the time, except one in Philadelphia, which a son of the early printer, Bradford, had founded in 1719. In 1725 one appeared in New York, and after that time they were multiplied, in Maryland, South Carolina, Rhode Island, and Virginia. A second newspaper started in New York by one Zenger, in 1733, gave rise, in the next year, to a famous trial, which resulted in a decisive vindication of the right of publishers to print true statements of fact concerning public affairs.

76. Third Intercolonial War. 1739–1748. In 1739 Walpole was overcome by his political opponents in the English government, and the nation was carried, against his will, into a war

War with Spain, 1739.

with Spain. The colonies took little part in this war, except in Georgia, on the border of Spanish territory, where some fighting occurred.

In 1743 the hostilities between England and Spain became part of a great general war, in which most of the European powers were engaged, with England, Holland, and Austria on one side, against France, Spain, Prussia, and several minor states, on the other. To England, this War of the Austrian Succession, as it is known (called "King George's War," or the Third Intercolonial War, in American history), brought neither glory nor gain. The one notable exploit in it was performed by the New Englanders, as an undertaking of their own, with no help but that given by a British fleet, which blockaded the harbor of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, while they reduced the powerful defences of the place. For a score of years, at enormous cost, the French had been fortifying that harbor for a naval station, and it was their stronghold on the coast. Massachusetts was the leader in the expedition against it, and furnished about three fourths of the troops and equipments sent. The 4000 men of

"King George's War," 1743-1748.

LOUISBOURG THE KEY TO THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

Capture of Louisbourg, 1745.

this small colonial army had no training, their officers had no military experience, their commander, William Pepperell, a wealthy merchant, was entirely new to the business of war, but they took Louisbourg (June, 1745), after a siege of six weeks.

The Assembly of New York, having a quarrel with its governor, George Clinton, would provide no means for expelling the French from Crown Point, nor for fortifying against them, even to defend a settlement at Saratoga, which was left to be raided and destroyed, with a sacrifice of thirty lives. The border settlements in New England were protected with more vigor and success, against repeated attacks.

77. French and English in the Upper Ohio Valley. 1748–1753. The war settled nothing between England and France. Peace was made in 1748 (Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle) by each giving back what it had taken from the other; and every discerning person could see that the open question of boundaries between French and English territory in America, which the treaty left untouched, was sure to be the cause of another war in no long time. Hitherto that question had been a pressing one only on the northeastern border of the English settlements and claims; but now the two peoples were coming to close quarters on the west. The first English settlement beyond the mountains in western Virginia was made on a branch of the Kanawha in 1748; and a company in that year obtained a crown grant of half a million acres, to be located somewhere in the Ohio valley. Two years later this Ohio Company sent one Christopher Gist, with a party, to make the first known English exploration of the country bordering on the upper waters of the Ohio. Many traders with the Indians, from Pennsylvania and the southern colonies,

Beyond the mountains, 1748-1750.

were now in that country, and settlers were making ready to follow in their track.

At the same time the French, already well established along the line of the Great Lakes, and in the country between the western end of Lake Erie, Lake Michigan, and the lower Ohio, were entering the upper valley of the Ohio from points near the eastern end of Lake Erie, and were formally taking possession of that region in the name of their king. This was done by an exploring expedition under Céloron de Bienville in 1749. Early in 1753 more decisive action was taken, by a French force which came across Lake Erie to Presque Isle (now the city of Erie), and thence to French Creek, on which stream two forts, Le Bœuf and Venango, were built and garrisoned, for the purpose of holding an easy line of communication between the Alleghany River and the lake.

French in western Pennsylvania, 1749-1753.

78. Opening of the Final Conflict with the French. 1753–1754. It was then, and because of that action of the French, that George Washington made his first appearance in history. Virginians, it will be remembered, claimed a northern boundary line, under the charter of 1609, which ran northwestwardly, instead of due west (see sect. **3**), taking in the territory on which the French were now laying hands. That claim had been strengthened in 1744 by a treaty, signed at Lancaster, which Virginia joined Maryland and Pennsylvania in making with the Iroquois, whereby the latter conveyed all rights belonging to them as conquerors of the tribes of the west. On these grounds, when news of the building of the forts on French Creek was received, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia made haste to send a warning to the officer in command that he had intruded on English

soil. The message was conveyed (1753) through the wilderness by George Washington, then lately appointed major and adjutant-general of the militia forces of Virginia, though but twenty-one years of age. Of course, the French officer at Fort Le Bœuf declined to vacate his post; and a working party was then sent out from Virginia, in the

Washington's entrance into History, 1753.

FRENCH POSTS IN THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND AROUND THE GREAT LAKES.

spring of 1754, to build an opposing fort, at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, where Pittsburg now stands, while Washington followed, soon after, with two hundred men. Before the latter could reach the ground the English fort-builders were driven off, and the French were continuing the work they had begun.

Washington, moving forward, came by surprise on a French scouting party and attacked it, killing ten and taking twenty-one prisoners. This opened the final conflict which decided that Englishmen and not Frenchmen should be masters of the destiny of the American world. Falling back to Great Meadows, and being slightly reinforced, Washington built a small fort, which he called Fort Necessity, and endeavored to hold his ground against a thousand French and Indians; but his small force was too poorly provisioned and equipped to stand a siege, and he had to accept terms which allowed him to lead his men back to their homes.

Great Meadows, 1754.

79. Indifference of Many Colonies to the French Advance. England was now aroused, and began, for the first time, to make serious preparations for fighting out her colonial quarrels with France. But except in New England, whose border settlements had been harassed sorely by the French, the colonists still looked with much indifference, it would seem, at the movements of the rival people who were hemming them in. In New York the Assembly coolly answered the governor's appeal for means to repel the French invasion by saying that the building of a fort, "at a place called French Creek, at a considerable distance from the river Ohio," "does not by any evidence or information appear to us to be an invasion of any of his majesty's colonies;" and it was with great reluctance that this sceptical body finally voted £10,000. In Pennsylvania, where the large Quaker element of population had always refused to vote money for military use, and where the people in general were refusing to levy any tax which did not apply to the wild lands of the proprietors, the answer of the Assembly was much the same. They

Attitude of New York.

said plainly to the governor that "they had rather the French should conquer than give up their privileges." New Jersey did nothing. Maryland made a tardy appropriation of £6000. Even in Virginia, which claimed the invaded territory, the Assembly appeared more anxious to defeat the governor in an old matter of quarrel than to drive out the French.

Looking back from our own time at the situation as it existed then, one can see that England could have afforded much better than the colonies could to let the French win the lakes and the great rivers and valleys of the west. If the English government could have foreseen that the overthrow of its own authority in the colonies would follow the expulsion of France from America, it might reasonably have stood back, to let events take their course. There *were* sagacious men, both in England and in the colonies, who suspected that nothing save the presence of the French on their borders could keep the colonists in subjection; but the contrary view prevailed. England became eager for the conquest of New France, and so cleared the way to independence for the colonies; while the colonies themselves were mostly cool toward the undertaking at first, and discouraged the very effort by which their speedy emancipation was guaranteed.

In the light of after events.

80. Plans of Colonial Union. 1754. In view of all the circumstances, it can hardly be wondered that the British government entered the war with an intention to tax the colonies by act of Parliament for their share of its cost. That intention appeared in action taken after the meeting of a congress of colonial commissioners, called by order of the Lords of Trade and held at Albany, in June, 1754. New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the four New England colonies were repre-

sented by some of their ablest men; but the provinces farther south took no part. The special purpose of the congress was to strengthen the English alliance with the Six Nations, who were being seduced by the French; but the congress took up the subject of a colonial union, and several plans of organization were discussed. One, submitted by Benjamin Franklin, was adopted, after some amendments, and recommended to the provincial assemblies and the Board of Trade. It contemplated a general government, to be administered by a president-general, appointed by the crown, and a grand council, to be chosen by the several colonial assemblies. The result of the recommendation is thus related by Franklin, in his own account of his life: "The assemblies did not adopt it [the recommended plan], as they all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it, and in England it was judged to have too much of the *democratic*. The Board of Trade therefore did not approve it, nor recommend it for the approbation of his majesty; but another scheme was formed, supposed to answer the same purpose better, whereby the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, etc., and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterward to be refunded by an act of Parliament, laying a tax on America." So England entered the final contest for empire in America with intentions that were destined to cost her the best part of the fruits of her success.

Franklin's plan of union.

81. Braddock's Defeat. 1755. Neither England nor France had declared war; but both proceeded to hostilities, and were fighting battles at sea and on land for two years before they gave up the pretence of being at peace. Early in 1755, both sent considerable forces to America,

the English under General Braddock, the French under Baron Dieskau. General Braddock and his regiments were landed in Virginia, and there, at a conference with several of the provincial governors, four simultaneous attacks on the French were planned; one, to be led by Braddock in person, against the new fort (on the site of Pittsburg), which had been completed and called Fort Duquesne; a second against Crown Point, under Colonel William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New York, and powerful in influence with the Six Nations; a third against Fort Niagara, which Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, would command; the fourth in Acadia, to clear the French from the forts they held on the northern side of the Bay of Fundy and Chignecto Bay.

Fort Duquesne.

MILITARY POSTS IN THE FRONTIER REGIONS OF NORTHEASTERN NEW YORK AND NEIGHBORING CANADA.[1]

Some companies of Virginians were added to Braddock's British regiments, and Washington was invited to join his staff. But the British

[1] From Miles's *History of Canada*, reproduced in Winsor's *America*, v. 557.

general, who knew nothing of war with savages in the wilderness, was scornful of information from those who did know, and a terrible disaster was the result. Attacked in the forest, when near Fort Duquesne, by hidden foes, who fired from behind trees, he would not let his men fight in the same backwoods fashion, but compelled them to stand in line, exposed to the fire of the hidden enemy, until they broke and fled in wild disorder, leaving their wounded to be tomahawked and scalped. Out of a total of about 2200 in Braddock's command, nearly 800 are believed to have been lost. Braddock himself was mortally wounded and died during the retreat. His second in command abandoned the whole frontier, leaving it at the mercy of the savages, who swarmed against it for months, at the instigation of the French.

The day of disaster, July 9, 1755.

Governor Shirley's expedition against Fort Niagara got no farther than Oswego, finding the forces of the enemy unexpectedly strong. The army led by Colonel Johnson was attacked while in camp at the head of Lake George, and won an important victory, shattering the French army, wounding Baron Dieskau, and taking him prisoner; but it did not advance to Crown Point. Johnson contented himself with building an opposing fort, named William Henry, at the head of Lake George, and another at the head of boat navigation on the Hudson, called Fort Edward; while the French built Fort Carillon, afterward called Fort Ticonderoga, at the outlet of Lake George into Lake Champlain.

Other expeditions.

82. Dispersion of the Acadian French. 1755. Of the four movements planned for 1755, only one had complete success. That in Acadia drove the French entirely from the Bay of Fundy and the neighborhood

of Chignecto Bay, where they had been keeping up continual intrigues among the Acadian French of the Nova Scotian peninsula, inciting them to hostile acts. As the Acadians continued to give trouble, and refused to swear allegiance, a resolution to remove them and scatter them in other colonies was taken, and that harsh measure was carried out in the fall of 1755. About 6000 were forcibly shipped to different points in the English colonies, whence many of them made their way to the French settlements in Louisiana; some escaped to Canada; a few were left behind. The sad tale is told, but not with historical accuracy, in Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline."

Longfellow's "Evangeline."

83. The European "Seven Years' War." In May, 1756, war between England and France was formally declared. Both nations had then become engaged on opposite sides of another great European quarrel. France had joined Austria, Russia, Sweden, and other powers, in a combined attempt to crush the king of Prussia, Frederick the Great. England went into alliance with Frederick, in order to have his help in defending the German dominion (Hanover) of King George. The far-reaching and tremendous conflict then opened is described in European history as the Seven Years' War; but the colonists called their part of it, as well as the American hostilities that preceded it, the French and Indian War.

84. The Turning of the Tide. 1756–1758. For the campaign of 1756, in America, the French government sent out an excellent soldier, the Marquis de Montcalm, to take command, while a dilatory general, Lord Loudon, was opposed to him on the British side. Things went badly with the British for the next two years. Oswego and Fort William Henry were lost, and the

whole border, from New York to Virginia, was harried by French and Indian raids. So far, the arms of France were triumphant, and the outlook for the English in America was very dark. But suddenly, in the summer of 1758, an amazing change occurred. A great British statesman, the elder William Pitt (afterward the Earl of Chatham), had risen to power, and his prodigious energy was imparted to the conduct of the war.

William Pitt, the elder, 1758.

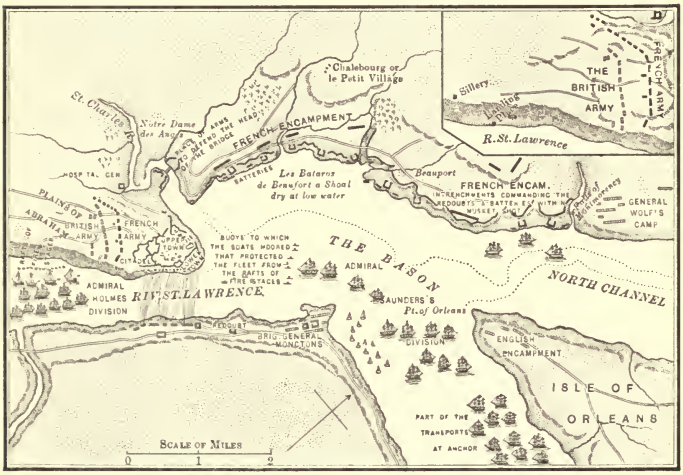
The successes of 1758 in America (from which Lord Loudon was recalled) were the reduction, again, of Louisbourg, after a siege of seven weeks, the expulsion of the French from Fort Duquesne, and the capture and destruction of Fort Frontenac, on the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario, where the city of Kingston stands now. One dreadful disaster marked the year. A force of 6000 British regulars and 9000 provincial troops was sent against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. It was nominally commanded by Major-general Abercrombie, but really by Lord Howe, who was a man after Pitt's own kind. Unhappily, Lord Howe was killed in a chance encounter with the enemy, before reaching Ticonderoga, and an ill-judged assault on the fort, directed by Abercrombie, was repulsed with such terrible slaughter that he made no further attempt.

Repulse at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.

85. Conquest of New France. 1759–1760. The supreme and decisive achievement of the war came in the next year (1759), when Quebec, supposed to be the invincible citadel of Canada, was taken by General Wolfe. The British fleet and army reached Quebec at the end of June, and found the French, under Montcalm, prepared to defend it with nearly double the force that Wolfe had been able to bring. More than ten weeks were spent in attempts to find some way of reaching the

enemy on the heights that they held. At last the way was found, between midnight and dawn of the 13th of September, when 4800 of the besieging troops climbed to the summit without discovery, and defeated the rawer levies of Montcalm in an open battle fought on a broad plateau, known as "the Plains of Abraham." Both Wolfe and Montcalm re-

Capture of Quebec, September 13, 1759.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.[1]

ceived mortal wounds in the fight. The former died on the field, in the moment that he knew it to be won; the latter expired the next day.

Before this most fatal of all possible blows to the power of France in America had been struck, and while Wolfe was still sparring with his antagonist for the chance to deliver it, General Amherst (who had been in command at the taking of Louisbourg, in the previous year) led 11,000

[1] From Miles's *History of Canada*, reproduced in Winsor's *America*, v. 542.

men against forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and forced the French to abandon both. Fort Niagara, at the point where the river Niagara flows into Lake Ontario, had been surrendered to an expedition sent against it in July, and this compelled a quick retreat of garrisons from Venango, Le Bœuf, and Presque Isle. All the French posts farther west were cut off. A hopeless fight was kept up in other quarters until September of the following year (1760), when the surrender of Montreal carried with it the surrender throughout Canada of all the French forces in arms.

Other French reverses.

86. Cession of all French Territory in North America. 1763. In Europe, the great Seven Years' War went on for two more years, and terms of peace were not finally settled until February, 1763, when the treaty of Paris was signed. By that treaty France ceded to Great Britain the whole vast territory that she had claimed in North America east of the Mississippi River, excepting the settlement at New Orleans, and two small islands near the coast of Newfoundland, which she kept for fishing stations, with certain fishery rights. New Orleans and the region claimed by France on the western side of the Mississippi, which she called Louisiana, were given up to Spain. Spain at the same time ceded Florida to Great Britain, whose sovereignty in America became then complete from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Polar Sea, excepting in the little district where the city of New Orleans was growing up.

France cedes Louisiana to Spain; Spain cedes Florida to England, 1763.

In the war which had that great result, the colonies, notwithstanding their backwardness at the beginning, appear to have borne their full share of the fighting and the cost. In testimony given three years after the peace, before the House of Commons, Dr. Franklin said:

"The colonies raised, paid and clothed near 25,000 men during the last war, a number equal to those sent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion; they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxes and estates are mortgaged, for many years to come, for discharging this debt."

Part of the colonies in the war.

87. Pontiac's War. 1763–1764. In assuming that France could transfer to them a sufficient title to the great territory she had claimed, the English were forgetful of the native occupants, by whose friendly sufferance the French had been holding all that they called their rights. English garrisons took the place of the French throughout the west, with little effort to win the assent of the surrounding tribes. The natural consequence was a fierce and widespread resentment among the savages, leading to a great combination of tribes, secretly worked up with rare ability by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief. Nearly the whole of the Algonquian stock, together with the Hurons or Wyandots, the Senecas, and some tribes of the lower Mississippi, were brought into the plan of a simultaneous attack on all the western English posts. The attacks were made in May and June, 1763, with appalling success almost everywhere except at Detroit and at Fort Pitt. The garrison at Detroit was besieged by Pontiac in person for six months, and held out until relieved. Fort Pitt was relieved more promptly, by Colonel Henry Bouquet, whose energy and capability were conspicuously shown in this Indian war, which lasted until near the end of 1764. Pontiac's combination was finally broken up, and peace was made by Sir William Johnson with nearly all the tribes. But Pontiac himself retreated to the neighborhood of the Mississippi, where he was assassinated in 1769.

Cause of hostilities.

Siege of Detroit, 1763.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

52. Overthrow of Andros. — A New Charter for Massachusetts.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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53. New York and Jacob Leisler.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The Revolution in New York. 2. Authority assumed by Jacob Leisler. 3. Leisler deposed and executed. 4. "Leislerians" and "Aristocrats." Winsor, *America*, v. 189–194; Roosevelt, *New York*, ch. vi.; Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 181–208, 212–215; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 83–85, 88, 93–95; Fisher, 241–247.

54. New Jersey.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Union of the two Jerseys in a single royal province. Fiske, *D. and Q. Col's*, ii. 239–240; Fisher, 255–256; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 68–72.

55. Pennsylvania.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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56. Maryland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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57. Virginia and the Carolinas.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Spread of independent feeling in the colonies. 2. Object lessons in representative government, in self-taxation, and in the "holding of the purse strings," that were learned from England. 3. English ideas as to colonial government. Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 108–110, 123–128; Fisher, 208–211; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 133–141, 154–169, 352–353.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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62. Huguenot and German Immigration.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Immigration from the Palatinate of the Rhine and from France. Bancroft, ii. 265, 266; Cobb; Baird, ch. v. and ix.–xiv.; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 77–79.

63. The Carolinas. 1690–1713.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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64. Incidents of Progress.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Founding of Yale College. 2. The first newspaper. 3. Beginnings of a postal system. Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 255–258; Bancroft, ii. 258; Fiske, *Old Va.*, ii. 373–374.

65. The Hanoverian Kings. — Ministry of Walpole.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The colonists misrepresented by their British governors. 2. Their claims and aims. Bancroft, ii. 246–251, 340–342; Fisher, 210–211; Lecky, iii. 296–297.

67. The Question of Taxation.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Unwillingness of colonists to tax themselves for their own defence. 2. Walpole's refusal to tax the colonies. Lecky, i. 360; iii. 344–345; Morley, *Walpole*, 167–169; *Annual Register*, 1765, p. 25.

68. Industrial and Commercial Oppressions.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Measures to satisfy English merchants and manufacturers. Lecky, iii. 324–328; Winsor, *America*, v. 149, 222–227.

69. The Carolinas. 1719–1729.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Extinction of proprietary government. McCrady, i. ch. xxix.–xxx.; Winsor, *America*, v. 325–327.

70. Founding of Georgia.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Neglect of exploration beyond the mountains. 2. First expedition into the Shenandoah valley. 3. Recommendations of Governor Spotswood and action of Governor Burnet. Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, 14–18; Cooke, 314–315; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 316–324; Parkman, *Half Century*, ii. 45–46.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Causes of immigration from the north of Ireland into Pennsylvania. 2. Spread of settlement into the Appalachian valleys. 3. Southwestward movement. 4. Other immigration taking the same direction. Fiske, *Old Va.*, ii. 390–399, and *N. F. and N. E.*, 259–262; Roosevelt, *The Winning*, i. 101–114; Bancroft, ii. 265–266; Hanna, i. ch. xxxix.; MacLean, ch. ii.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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74. Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Time and circumstances of the coming of Franklin to Philadelphia. Franklin, 31–47.

RESEARCH. — The early life of Franklin. Franklin, *Autobiography*.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (text in MacDonald, i. 251–253). — Unsettled boundary questions. 2. First English exploration and settlement west of the Alleghenies. 3. The French in the upper Ohio valley. Parkman, *Half Century*, i. ch. xvii.; Winsor, *Mississippi*, 171–183, and *America*, v. 8–12, 490–492; Fernow, ch. v.–vi.; Bancroft, ii. 336–337, 343–344, 362–366; Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, 57–61; Fiske, *N. F. and N. E.*, 264–270; Seeley, *Expansion*, 31–32; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 354–356.

78. Opening of the Final Conflict with France.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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2. Mission of George Washington to warn the intruders away. 3. His second mission, commanding a small force. — Opening hostilities. Washington, i. 9–124; Bancroft, ii. 377–385; Fiske, *N. F. and N. E.*, 270–276; Lodge, *Washington*, i. 63–79.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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2. Why England had more reason than the colonies for indifference. Lecky, iii. 290–295; Johnston, *United States*, 30–32.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Colonial Congress at Albany, 1754. 2. Plan of colonial union recommended by it (text in MacDonald, i. 253–257; *O. S. Leaf.*, 9). 3. Opposing reasons for rejection of the plan. 4. Board of Trade's scheme of union and taxation. Franklin, 231–233; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 114–121, 132–151; Fiske, *N. F. and N. E.*, 279–280; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 357–360.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Reasons for the removal of French inhabitants from Nova Scotia. 2. Their dispersion. Bancroft, ii. 425–434; Parkman, *Montcalm*, i. ch. viii.; Winsor, *America*, v. 415–417; Sloane, 48–49; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 360–365.

83. The European "Seven Years' War."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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RESEARCH. — The European circumstances of the war. Macaulay, *Essays*, *Frederick the Great.*

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Two years of French success and English disaster. 2. The amazing change brought about by the elder William Pitt. 3. English successes of 1758. — Bloody repulse at Ticonderoga. Fiske, *N. F. and N. E.*, 303–325 ; Bancroft, ii. 447–495 ; Parkman, *Montcalm*, ii. ch. xviii.–xxiii. ; Winsor, *America*, v. 505–530 ; Sloane, ch. v.–vi. ; Green, 716–724.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The taking of Quebec by General Wolfe. 2. Capture of Crown Point, Fort Ticonderoga, and Fort Niagara. 3. General downfall of French power in America. Parkman, *Montcalm*, ii. ch. xxiv.–xxx. ; Winsor, *America*, v. 531–559 ; Bancroft, ii. 498–512, 522–527 ; Fiske, *N. F. and N. E.*, ch. x. ; Sloane, ch. vii.–viii. ; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 369–372.

86. Cession of all French Territory in North America.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Cessions from France to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris. 2. Cession from France to Spain. 3. Cession from Spain to Great Britain (text in MacDonald, i. 261–266). Parkman, *Montcalm*, ii. ch. xxxi.–xxxii. ; Bancroft, ii. 537–542 ; Sloane, 111–114.

4. The part borne by the colonies in the war. Hildreth, ii. 514–516 ; Lecky, iii. 295 ; Hart, *Formation*, 37–40.

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87. Pontiac's War.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Reasons for a rising of western Indians against the English. 2. Pontiac the leader. — Extent of his combination. 3. Result of the war. Parkman, *Conspiracy of P.* ; Bancroft, iii. 41–49 ; Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, 148 ; Sloane, 101–103.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROVOCATIONS TO REVOLT. 1760–1775.

88. King George III. In the fall of 1760, immediately after the overthrow of the French in America, a new king, George III., came to the British throne with very old-fashioned notions of kingship in his mind. His great-grandfather and his grandfather, the first and second Georges, had been helpless royal figures in the hands of their ministers, and a system of ministerial government had grown up which the young king was taught to look upon as unconstitutional and needing to be put down. According to his lights, he was a conscientious young man, but narrow-minded and ill-informed. Parliament, as then constituted, represented few people except a small landlord class, and it was more or less corruptly controlled. For the last two generations the cabinet ministers had held that control; but now the king took it into his own hands. Those who helped him to do so, and who were known as "the king's friends," soon became his chief ministers; Pitt had to resign; statesmanship was superseded by the wilful orders of an ignorant sovereign, carried out by pliant servants, who obeyed his commands.

"The king's friends."

This was England's last experience of dictatorial kingship, and it happened at a time when the government could easily be intoxicated with a new sense of power. India had been won, as well as America, and British supremacy on the broad ocean had been made an un-

questionable fact. In such circumstances, at such a time, it was inevitable that a prince like George III. would plunge the expanded empire into serious trouble, until he and his "friends" could be restrained. It was inevitable that they would try experiments in high-handed government, both at home and in the colonies, and that they would try them in stupid ways. They began those experiments in England, with an attempt to break down the freedom of the press, and they abused the rights of Englishmen in their own island, for a time, even more than the rights of the colonists were abused.

89. Tightening the Reins of Colonial Government. 1760–1761. As to the latter, it was a matter of course that King George and his revived Tory party should take up the long-debated project of taxing the colonies and of tightening the reins of imperial government, to limit their "home rule." Measures to invigorate the administration of the navigation laws, and of all the enactments called "acts of trade," were undertaken first. By an order in council the customs officers in the colonies were directed to apply to the courts for search-warrants of a kind called "writs of assistance," which would authorize them to enter any private house and search for smuggled goods. An application of that nature was made to the superior court at Boston and argued in February, 1761. James Otis was engaged by merchants of Boston and Salem to oppose it, and did so in a speech of marvellous power. "Otis was a flame of fire," wrote John Adams at a later day. "Then and there," he added, "was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born." Awed by the deep feeling stirred up, the court delayed its decision

Writs of assistance, 1760.

James Otis.

until it received instructions from England to issue the writs.

Close on the heels of this measure came another more odious still. Hitherto judges in the royal provinces had been appointed, as in England, "during good behaviour," which made their tenure of office independent of the crown. In 1761 that constitutional practice was set aside. On the death of the chief justice of New York, his successor was appointed to serve "at the king's pleasure," and instructions were sent to all colonial governors not to issue judicial commissions in any other terms.

Judges "at the king's pleasure."

90. Grenville's Measures. 1763. It was not, however, until the conclusion of the treaty of peace with France and Spain, in 1763, that the government felt free to execute its new projects of colonial coercion in full. George Grenville, soon to be prime minister, and Charles Townshend, president of the Board of Trade, were chiefly accountable for what ensued. They began, in March, with a proposal to Parliament that twenty regiments should be kept in America, at the cost of the colonies after the first year. Their next measure gave them authority to employ all the forces of the navy in the service of the custom-house, to enforce the "acts of trade."

Troops in America.

At the same time, one of the most grievous of the acts of trade, called sometimes "the Sugar Act," sometimes "the Molasses Act," was amended and revived. It had been passed in 1733, to stop the importation of sugar or molasses from the French West Indies into the colonies, in order to "protect" the sugar planters of the English islands. But the commerce of the New Englanders was half dependent on this sugar trade. They sold fish, lumber, staves,

The Sugar Act, 1733-1763.

provisions, etc., to the French islands, took molasses and sugar in exchange, converted them mostly into rum, sold the rum elsewhere, and so, after a round of exchanges, got money in hand with which to buy English goods. To break the round, by cutting sugar out, was to break up half their trade, even with England herself. The impracticable stupidity of the measure had been discovered, and it had not been enforced until now, when it was suddenly resurrected; the sugar duties were reduced somewhat, and the exasperating new machinery of enforcement was brought into vigorous play.

The next undertaking was to stop the growth of the colonies, by prohibiting their expansion into the great interior valleys from which the French had been expelled. To that end a royal proclamation was issued in October, 1763, establishing governments in eastern Canada (named Quebec) and in east and west Florida, but setting apart the whole territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi and north and west of the Great Lakes for the use of the Indian tribes (see Map IV.). White settlers were forbidden to enter this region, and those who had already made homes "westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest" were commanded to withdraw.[1]

Western settlement forbidden, 1763.

[1] In a subsequent report of the Lords of Trade it was acknowledged that the primary object of this extraordinary measure was to confine "the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea-coasts as that those settlements should lie within reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, . . . and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction which was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the colonies in a due subordination to and dependence upon the mother country;" with the secondary object of promoting the fur trade. This fairly illustrates the wisdom of statesmanship in the government of George III.

91. The Stamp Act. 1764–1765. But the crowning measure of Grenville's policy was announced in a series of "Declaratory Resolves" of Parliament, in March, 1764, and carried out in the spring of the next year. The "Stamp Act" then passed imposed a direct tax on the colonies, by requiring certain stamps, sold officially at prices ranging from three pence to ten pounds, to be affixed to all legal and commercial documents, to every newspaper, pamphlet, and almanac, and to every pack of cards. There were less than fifty votes in the House of Commons against the enactment; but one fine speech in opposition was made by Colonel Isaac Barré. Merely as a tax, the stamp tax was not intolerable; but as a challenge to the political doctrine which the colonists had inherited from their British ancestry, that "taxation without representation is tyranny," it roused a more wrathful resistance than anything done before. The defenders of the stamp tax argued that the colonies were "virtually represented" in Parliament, — as much so as many of the most important English cities, which elected no representatives in those days, but were assumed to be cared for and spoken for by every member of the House of Commons. This ridiculous doctrine of "virtual representation" held its ground in England for more than half a century, until Parliament was reformed in 1832; but it made no impression on the American mind in 1764.

Colonel Barré's speech.

Doctrine of "virtual representation."

On the first announcement of the intended bill, Boston, in town meeting, had led off, and half the colonies had followed, in strong remonstrances, beyond which few seemed ready to go. But when news of the actual passage of the Stamp Act arrived, a young man in the Virginia Assembly, Patrick Henry, spoke words that

were like a trumpet call. In a speech of matchless eloquence and boldness, he stirred the people from Georgia to Maine. A famous passage of his speech was one in which he cried: "Cæsar had his Brutus — Charles the First his Cromwell — and George the Third" — pausing when some in the Assembly cried "Treason!" and then continuing — "may profit by the example. If that be treason, make the most of it."

Patrick Henry's speech, 1765.

Early in June, the Massachusetts Assembly sent a circular letter to all the colonies, proposing a general meeting of delegates from each, "to consult together" on the subject of the Stamp Act. The proposal was approved, and on the 7th of October delegates from nine colonies met in congress at New York. Able and dignified in its membership, this "Stamp Act Congress" discussed the situation with calmness, and agreed upon a temperate but firm declaration of "the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labor by reason of several late acts of Parliament." In this congress the actual beginning of an American Union may be said to have been made.

Stamp Act Congress, October, 1765.

Meantime, while these decorous expressions were being given to the public feeling, a less orderly part of the people were venting it in more or less riotous ways. Secret societies, pledged to resist the stamp tax, were spreading rapidly through most of the colonies, calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," having caught the name from a phrase in Colonel Barré's speech. In some of their public demonstrations the Sons of Liberty set mobs in motion which did outrageous things. The worst proceeding was in Boston, where the house of the chief justice and lieutenant-governor, after-

"Sons of Liberty."

ward governor, Thomas Hutchinson, was sacked, and a precious library of books and historical manuscripts was barbarously destroyed. Though a stout supporter of the authority of king and Parliament, Hutchinson had used his influence against the passage of the Stamp Act, and did not deserve the animosity with which he was assailed. In New York, defiant of a large body of troops, the Sons of Liberty made a bonfire of Lieutenant-Governor Colden's coach, with his effigy in it; threatened to hang him if the troops fired on them, and forced him to give up the stamps he had received. In other places the stamps were seized and destroyed. Generally, in all the colonies, the officers appointed to sell the stamps were compelled to resign.

Riots in Boston and New York, 1765.

92. Repeal of the Stamp Act. 1766. As another mode of making their displeasure felt in England, many people had been for some time past forming agreements not to use English goods, but to wear homespun, to promote wool-growing, and to carry on spinning and weaving in their homes.

Before the end of the year in which it was passed, the Stamp Act was seen to be impossible of enforcement, and indefensible on constitutional grounds. Pitt, who had been ill when it passed, now praised the colonists for resisting it, and demanded its repeal. Lord Camden, one of the ablest jurists of the day, supported Pitt's demand. The effects of the act had made it hateful to English merchants and manufacturers; and, altogether, it was assailed by influences which Parliament could not resist.

A new ministry, headed by the Marquis of Rockingham, had lately displaced that of Grenville, and it carried a repealing bill through both houses in March, 1766, but tried to save the dignity of

The Declaratory Act.

the government by a Declaratory Act, asserting the right of the English Parliament to make laws binding the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

93. The Townshend Acts. 1767. The British troops quartered in the colonies were a continuing cause of irritation and offence, especially at the headquarters, in New York. By what was called the "Billeting Act," the colonial assemblies were required to provide quarters and supplies for them, according to an exact prescription; but the New York Assembly asserted a right of judgment in the matter, and ordered the same supplies for the troops that would be furnished to them in other parts of the king's dominions. This was seized upon as proof that something peremptory must be done.

The Billeting Act.

Charles Townshend, the foremost advocate of colonial government by the whip, had now become the ruling spirit in the ministry of the day. Pitt had been persuaded to lend his name to that ministry as its nominal premier; but he was broken in health, and soon gave up all duties, accepting a peerage as Earl of Chatham, and leaving Townshend in the management of affairs. The latter, in May, 1767, brought several bills into Parliament, suspending the legislative functions of the New York Assembly; imposing duties on wine, oil, fruits, glass, paper, lead, painters' colors, and tea, for a revenue to support civil government in the provinces and provide for their defence; formally legalizing writs of assistance; and, finally, empowering the crown to create a general civil list of crown officials in every colony, wholly dependent on the pleasure of the king. The revenue bill was claimed to be a concession to the theory of the colonies that Parliament might tax them indirectly, by customs duties, levied for the general regulation of British

Pitt made Earl of Chatham, 1766.

The revenue bill.

trade, but might not raise revenue from them by direct tax. But this measure was so plainly aimed at a political end, and so much else of grave menace to popular rights went with it, that the Townshend bills as a whole caused deeper alarm to thinking men in America than the Stamp Act had done.

84. Writings of John Dickinson and Samuel Adams. 1767–1768. The feeling produced when the Townshend bills became law was very grave. In December an able Pennsylvanian, John Dickinson, began publishing a series of what came to be known as the "Farmer's Letters," which had a powerful effect. They pleaded with the English government for conciliation and with the colonies for moderation, but showed with remarkable plainness the "dangerous innovation" of the Townshend acts upon the liberties of the people. In the general approbation of these letters there was proof that the colonists still desired to be British subjects, but only on the terms of freedom that British subjects enjoyed in the British Isles. Unfortunately there was no statesmanship in the English government to be influenced by such proofs. The king was completely in control. Townshend had died in September, and Lord North, a man of good abilities, but with no will of his own, took his place in a cabinet of ministers who served practically as his majesty's chief clerks.

The "Farmer's Letters."

Early in 1768 the Massachusetts Assembly adopted a series of addresses, to English ministers and to the king, and sent a "Circular Letter" to "each house of representatives or burgesses on the continent," inviting correspondence, with a view to action on some uniform plan. These remarkably well-written papers, strong in argument and temperate but firm in tone, are believed to have been entirely the work of

The work of Samuel Adams.

Samuel Adams, the popular leader in Massachusetts, who took, from this time, a leading part in the larger colonial field. More than any other man, he planned, inspired, directed, and organized the movements which prepared the colonies for their united revolt. Even he had been seeking only to secure for the English in America the same rights and same principles in their government that Englishmen enjoyed at home. According to his own testimony, it was not until later in this year 1768 that he came to be convinced that separation from the mother country was the only means of escape from wrongs that ought not to be endured.

Several late occurrences had helped, no doubt, to force this conviction on Mr. Adams's mind. Governor Bernard had been ordered from London to dissolve the Massachusetts Assembly, because it refused to rescind its "Circular Letter," and the other colonies had been threatened with like treatment if they responded to the letter. Revenue seizures made without legal warrant, and attempts to seize men for enforced naval service, had led to collisions between Boston citizens and the officers of a British frigate, and those collisions had led to an order for sending two regiments to Boston, to be quartered on the town. Finally, the British authorities had begun to seek testimony on which to arrest Adams and other leaders for treason, with a declared intention to send them to England to be tried. This last proceeding was denounced with special bitterness in England by Burke, Barré, and other rational-minded men.

British regiments in Boston, 1768.

95. Action in Virginia. — Non-importation. — Partial Repeal of the Townshend Acts. 1769–1770. Virginia had received a governor, Lord Botetourt, who tried to conciliate the people; but they were not to be recon-

ciled to such measures as he had to carry out. Washington, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry were now members of the Assembly, and they took the lead (May, 1769) in passing declarations as strong as those of Massachusetts, against the Townshend acts and against the threatened carrying of men beyond sea for trial. Copies of these declarations were sent to all the other assemblies, with invitations to concur. As required by his orders from London, the governor dissolved the Assembly, whereupon the members met in convention and passed resolutions, drawn up by Washington, which recommended an organized and systematic stopping of the importation of English goods until the obnoxious acts were repealed. All the colonies soon joined in carrying out this plan.[1]

Virginia declarations.

Again, as in 1765–66, the abstention of the colonists from using British goods raised a clamor in the British business world which the government could not resist. It was driven once more to a repeal of its own acts; but tried again, as in 1766, to undo its blunder without healing the sore effect. On the 5th of March, 1770, Lord North moved the repeal of the revenue act, excepting its preamble and the duty on tea, which, he said, "must be retained as a mark of the supremacy of Parliament and the efficient declaration of its right to govern the colonies." This, as appeared afterward, was demanded by the obstinate king.

Tea tax retained, 1770.

96. The "Boston Massacre." 1770. On the 5th of

[1] The exports from Great Britain to New England, New York, and Pennsylvania were cut down by this action from £1,363,311, in 1768, to £504,603 in 1769. The falling off in exports to the southern colonies was much less, for the reason that they were much less able to manufacture for themselves. Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, i. 374.

March, the day of Lord North's motion, a tragical and exciting event occurred in Boston. The soldiers of two regiments brought from Halifax had been in the city for nearly a year and a half, making themselves disagreeable in many ways, but carefully restrained from any use of their arms. They were jeered at frequently by boys and men of the ruder class, and on this day, unhappily, a squad of nine was provoked to fire into a crowd of unarmed people, killing four and wounding seven, of whom two afterward died. This "massacre," as it was styled, produced a fierce excitement in Boston, and a great town meeting, making Samuel Adams its spokesman, demanded that the regiments be sent away. Governor Hutchinson (who had succeeded Bernard) bowed to the storm, and removed the soldiers to a fort in the Bay.

97. The Carolina Regulators. 1771–1772. After this, for some time, a state of comparative quiet prevailed in all the colonies except the Carolinas, where a conflict occurred between the royal authorities of the province and the inhabitants of the western frontier. Those rude, hardy, "up country" settlers had received little attention from the colonial government, except in harassing ways. Having no proper courts in their own region, they had formed companies called "Regulators" which dealt with criminals by what afterward got the name of "lynch law," and they refused obedience to warrants issued by the far-away royal courts. The resulting conflict came to a crisis of battle on the Alamance, North Carolina, in 1771, and the Regulators were defeated with heavy loss.

Battle of the Alamance, 1771.

Many of the defeated Regulators now crossed the mountains and joined a body of settlers who had defied the king's proclamation of 1763 (see sect. **90**), and planted themselves on the Watauga and Holston rivers,

within what afterward became the State of Tennessee. There, under the lead of John Sevier and James Robertson, a community derived mostly from the Scotch-Irish stock framed a government for itself, by what were described as the "Articles of the Watauga Association" (1772), constituting the first practically independent commonwealth on American soil.

"Watauga Association," 1772.

98. "Lord Dunmore's War." 1774. From this time, bold encroachments on the Indian hunting grounds beyond the mountains went on, both southwestwardly and northwestwardly, until a savage outbreak of war was provoked, in the spring of 1774. The clash came in consequence of the brutal murder of the whole family of Logan, a friendly and much esteemed chief, the story of whose wrongs, told with pathetic eloquence in a reputed speech of his own, is one of the most familiar pieces of early American literature. The governor of Virginia was held to be mainly responsible for what occurred, and the war is commonly referred to as "Lord Dunmore's War." It was ended in October, by a terrific battle at Point Pleasant, on the Great Kanawha, where the Indians, under the Shawnee chief Cornstalk, were so crushingly defeated by the backwoodsmen, commanded by General Andrew Lewis, that their country was practically free to white settlement from that time.

Battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774.

99. Fresh Exasperations. — Institution of "Committees of Correspondence." 1772–1773. After the partial repeal of the Townshend acts, the non-importation agreements in the colonies were not effectively carried out; but the use of tea, except as smuggled from the Dutch, was generally stopped. Against that smuggling, and other breaches of the acts of trade, British naval officers on the coast were kept active, and the commander of one vessel, the Gas-

Burning of the Gaspee, 1772.

pee, in Narragansett Bay, was accused of wanton destructiveness in what he did. Complaints against him having no effect, the exasperated people at length, in June, 1772, attacked his ship, while aground, captured it, and burned it, setting the crew on shore.

Close on the heels of this exciting event came an order from the king that the Massachusetts judges, who held their seats at his pleasure, should also take their salary from the crown. If there had been any quieting of rebellious feeling in Massachusetts, this roused it afresh; and it was now that Samuel Adams set on foot a movement which organized the patriotic party of the colony in a remarkably effective way. His plan was the creation of "committees of correspondence," to act representatively for the patriots of every town, as agents of communication and common action between all parts. Every town soon had its committee, and all were keeping in close touch with one another, under the constant influence of the Boston leaders, of whom Samuel and John Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, and John Hancock were in the front. A little later, in the spring of 1773, the idea of the committees of correspondence was taken up in Virginia, and developed into an inter-colonial system of consultation and agreement. This proved to be a most important measure of preparation for what now came to pass.

Judges salaried by the king.

100. The "Boston Tea-Party." 1773. Seeing that the colonists could in no way be forced to buy taxed tea, King George conceived the notion that they might be bribed. That they cared for anything more than the three pence per pound of duty was more than he could understand. His scheme was to pay such a drawback to the East India Company on tea taken to America that it might be sold there, even after paying Townshend's

duty, at a price below that of the smuggled Dutch teas. His obedient ministers arranged things with the Company as he wished, and several cargoes were shipped to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, in the fall of 1773. When the coming of the tea-ships was known, the patriot party in every one of the four ports determined that no sale of the cargoes should be allowed. At New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, the appointed consignees of the cargoes were persuaded to decline receiving them; but the Boston consignees would agree to no such course. When the ships arrived at that port, urgent efforts were made to induce Governor Hutchinson to send them back, but he refused, and ordered the fort to fire on them if they attempted to leave port. In this extremity, a party of determined men, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships and poured the contents of the tea-chests into the sea (December 16, 1763).

King George's scheme.

101. The Punishing of Boston and Massachusetts. 1774. Naturally, King George and his party were enraged by this act, and a sharp punishment of Boston and Massachusetts was planned. Burke, in one of his grandest speeches, argued for a just conciliation, by repealing the tea duty, and others made the same plea, but without avail. By large majorities in both houses, five acts for the regulation of American affairs were passed in the spring of 1774. One of them, called the Port Bill, closed the port of Boston, allowing no ship to enter or clear. A second, known as the Regulating Act, annulled the charter of Massachusetts, made the authority of its royal governor and his council supreme, and forbade town meetings for any other business than the election of officers for the towns. A third act provided that any magistrate, revenue officer, or sol-

Port Bill and Regulating Act.

dier indicted in Massachusetts for murder should be sent to England for trial, — which plainly gave encouragement to violent military acts. The fourth law removed all legal hindrances to the quartering of troops. The fifth, called the Quebec Act, aimed to extinguish the western territorial claims of all the colonies, by adding the whole region west of the mountains, and north of the Ohio River, to the province of Quebec (see Map IV.).

Quebec Act.

To enforce these acts of atrocious despotism, General Gage, with four regiments added to his command, was sent to supersede Governor Hutchinson, placing Massachusetts under military rule. He came with instructions to arrest Adams and other Boston leaders and send them to England for trial, but saw that it was not prudent to make the attempt. He found the patriots of Massachusetts undaunted, and supported in their attitude by all the colonies, south and north. Contributions to relieve the suffering which the Port Bill caused, and messages to encourage the oppressed city and province, came in from all sides.

102. The Continental Congress. 1774. Virginia declared that an attack on one colony was an attack on all, and endorsed the proposal of a Continental Congress,[1] already made in various quarters, asking Massachusetts to name the time and place. The Massachusetts Assembly did so; and that immortal body, the Continental Congress of 1774, was invited to meet at Philadelphia, every province responding heartily to the invitation. When, on the 5th of September, the Congress came to-

[1] "From the constant use of the phrase 'the whole continent,' to express general action, came the fine adjective so long significant of union — continental." W. M. Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, p. 172.

gether, in Carpenters' Hall, twelve colonies were represented, and its roll-call is full of great names.[1] None came from Georgia, but the Georgians were in full accord. With the opening of this meeting the first act of revolution may be said to have begun.

103. New England Temper displayed. — The Suffolk County Resolutions. 1774. The Continental Congress, meeting at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, soon had news from Massachusetts of exciting events. On the 1st of the month General Gage had sent troops from Boston to seize some powder that was stored for the provincial militia at Quarry Hill. As reports of this proceeding ran from town to town, colored with rumors of fighting, the whole country had risen up, and not less than 20,000 men were believed to be on the march for Boston, before messages sent out by the patriot leaders could bring the sudden movement to a stop. This formidable demonstration opened Gage's eyes; and he was enlightened still more when he heard of the excitement in other provinces. He had not believed that the men of Massachusetts would really face a conflict with the king's troops, nor that the other colonies would come to their help if they did. Now he began to see the truth, and began to try to make it known to the ministry and the king. "The people," he wrote to London, "are numerous, waked up to a fury, and not a Boston rabble, but the freeholders of the county;" and he gave his opinion that the act for regulating the government of Massachusetts could not be car-

General Gage awakened.

[1] Among the members of the First Continental Congress were Samuel Adams, John Adams, Roger Sherman, John Jay, Philip and William Livingston, John Dickinson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, John and Edward Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden.

ried into effect with an army of less than 20,000 men. At the same time he made haste to build fortifications on Boston Neck.

On the 9th of September a convention of the towns and districts of Suffolk County (embracing Boston) adopted a series of bold resolutions, reported by the intrepid Dr. Joseph Warren, declaring, among other things, that all crown officers in the province should be seized as hostages if a single arrest for political reasons should be made. This left no doubt as to the spirit with which the people most immediately concerned were facing the prospect of a conflict with British power.

The Suffolk resolutions.

104. Action of the Continental Congress. 1774. Nor could there be any reasonable doubt of the readiness of the other colonies to stand by Massachusetts, after the Continental Congress had declared itself. On receiving the resolutions of the Suffolk County Convention, the Congress approved them, and resolved that if any attempt should be made to enforce the Massachusetts Regulating Act, against the opposition of the inhabitants, "all America ought to support them." After four weeks of earnest debate and deliberation, it adopted a Declaration of Rights, especially setting forth the claim of the people of America to "a free and exclusive power of legislation in their provincial legislatures," "in all cases of taxation and internal polity." A respectful petition to the king, an address to the people of British America, including Quebec, and an earnest address to the people of England were also adopted and sent forth. "Permit us," said the address to the English people, "to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness."

Declaration of Rights.

Before adjourning, the Congress agreed on a systematic plan of commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, and formed an association to give it effect. The covenant entered into for that purpose declared, among other things, this: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it." Finally, a second Congress was called to meet on the 10th of May, 1775.

Slave trade renounced.

105. The "Olive Branch" offered by Lord North. February, 1775. The appeals of the Continental Congress, which all just minds admired, were treated by King George and his party with contempt. Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, Burke, Fox, Barré, and others exerted their eloquence and their powers of argument to dissuade Parliament from driving the Americans to a despairing defence of their rights, and Franklin, as agent for several of the colonies in England, labored to the same end. These efforts were supported, too, by petitions from London, Bristol, and other cities; but nothing availed. Parliament adopted an address to the king which declared rebellion to be existing in Massachusetts, and the king pledged himself in reply (February 9, 1775) to enforce "obedience to the laws and the authority of the supreme legislature;" yet, a few days later, Lord North, with the king's consent, proposed and carried a resolution in the House of Commons which he looked upon as an "olive branch" of generous compromise. It offered to exempt the colonies from all taxation excepting duties for the regulation of commerce, provided they would tax themselves to the satisfaction of

Efforts for peace.

Parliament and the king; but it promised no restoration of free government to Massachusetts, nor guarantees to any colony of future respect for the simplest constitutional rights. It was hoped that some of the provinces, New York especially, might be brought, on these terms, to break away from New England, and leave that troublesome section to be dealt with alone; but the scheme failed. Jefferson prepared and Congress adopted a reply to the proposal which exposed the delusiveness of its terms.

"Olive branch" rejected.

106. Arming for the Conflict. — The "Minute Men." 1774–1775. Meantime, in every colony, the people had been ratifying the declarations and pledges of the Continental Congress, and armed organizations were springing up in all parts of the land. In Massachusetts the Regulating Act had been made of no effect by the mere force of public feeling, which would not permit councillors, judges, sheriffs, or jurymen to serve under the commission of the king. Practically, the province had placed itself under a provisional government of its own, composed of the members chosen for its Assembly, who were not permitted by General Gage to meet at their appointed time and place. They met elsewhere, in October, 1774; appointed a "Committee of Safety," with Warren for its chairman, and gave to that famous committee large discretionary powers, to collect military stores, and to call out the militia, one fourth of whom, styled "Minute Men," were to be ready always for answering a summons to arms.

Committee of Safety.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

88. King George III.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Character and training of George III. 2. Circumstances that gave power to the king and his "friends." Lecky, iii. 11–25; Green, 726–730; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 38–45; Sloane, 105–107; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 373–374.

3. Experiments of the king and his "friends" in high-handed government. Lecky, iii. 76–89, 139–166; Green, 731–734; Hosmer, *Hutchinson*, 71; Sloane, 129–130.

RESEARCH. — General character of the first twenty years of the government of George III. Seeley, *Expansion*, 176–177; Macaulay, *Essays*, *Chatham* (second Essay).

89. Tightening the Reins of Colonial Government.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. "Writs of Assistance" (text in MacDonald, i. 258–261). — Speech of Otis against them. 2. Appointment of Judges to serve "at the king's pleasure." Bancroft, ii. 546–552; Sloane, 124–126; Hutchinson, iii. 89–95; Hosmer, *Adams*, 39–45, and *Hutchinson*, 49–62; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 374–378.

RESEARCH. — Otis's argument against Writs of Assistance. Tudor, *Otis*, ch. vi.; J. Adams, *Works*, x. 314–355.

90. Grenville's Measures.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. George Grenville and Charles Townshend: their offices in the British government. 2. Employment of army and navy to enforce "Acts of Trade." 3. The "Sugar" or "Molasses" Act (text in MacDonald, i. 272–281). — Its purpose and effect. Bancroft, iii. 30–36; Lecky, iii. 332–337; Hutchinson, iii. 102–112; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 381–382, 415–417.

4. King George's proclamation forbidding settlement west of the mountains. Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, 120–141; King, ch. iv.; Roosevelt, *The Winning*, i. 166.

RESEARCH. — The claim that King George's proclamation of 1763 was to protect and pacify the Indian tribes. Kingsford, v. 133–145; Fernow, 173–177.

91. The Stamp Act.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The Stamp Act and its provisions (text in MacDonald, i. 281–305; Preston, 188–191; Larned, *Ready Ref.*). 2. Why it roused so much resistance. 3. The doctrine of "virtual representation." 4. Patrick Henry's speech. 5. The Stamp Act Congress and its action. 6. The "Sons of Liberty" and their doings. — Riotous conduct of mobs. Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 164–196; Bancroft, iii. 55–58, 70–71, 95–116, 134–164; Hosmer, *Hutchinson*, ch. iv., and *Adams*, 50–53; Tyler, *P. Henry*, 58–79; Fiske, *Essays*, i. 27–31; Lecky, iii. 339–361; Hutchinson, iii. 116–128; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 402–404, 397–400; Sloane, 118, 133–139.

RESEARCH. — The question of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. Lecky, iii. 341–344, 353–356; Franklin, *Works*, vii. 501–502.

92. Repeal of the Stamp Act.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The repeal of the Stamp Act. 2. Authority of Parliament asserted in a Declaratory Act (text in MacDonald, i. 316–317). Lecky, iii. 361–375; Bancroft, iii. 167–214; Hosmer, *Adams*, 78–88; Morse, *Franklin*, 112–132; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 404–412; Sloane, 139–141.

93. The Townshend Acts.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The "Billeting Act." — Action of the New York Assembly (texts in MacDonald, i. 306–313, 317–320). 2. Pitt's nominal ministry, and his elevation to the peerage. 3. Townshend's bills and their alarming provisions (texts in MacDonald, i. 320–330). Hosmer, *Adams*, 98–100; Lecky, iii. 378–386; Bancroft, iii. 221–257; Sloane, 142–147; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 413–415; Hutchinson, iii. 168–182.

94. Writings of John Dickinson and Samuel Adams.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The "Farmer's Letters" of Dickinson. 2. General approval of them and what it showed. Stillé, ch. iv.; Dickinson, *Writings*, i.; Bancroft, iii. 264–265; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 423–426.

3. Lord North's ministry. — Its subservience to the king. 4. Addresses and "Circular Letter" of the Massachusetts Assembly (text in MacDonald, i. 330–334). 5. Work and influence of Samuel Adams. 6. Dissolution of the Massachusetts Assembly. — Collisions between citizens and naval officers. — Troops ordered to Boston. 7. Threatened arrest and conveyance of Adams and others to England for trial. Sloane, 147–151; Hosmer, *Adams*, 102–119; Bancroft, iii. 262–263, 272–276, 284–294; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 206–233; Lecky, iii. 387–395; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 420–423; Hutchinson, iii. 183–224.

95. Action in Virginia. — Non-importation Agreements. — Partial Repeal of the Townshend Acts.

Topics and References.

1. Virginia declarations (text in MacDonald, i. 334–335) and proposals to stop importation of English goods. 2. Effect of the non-importation policy in England. 3. Repeal of the Revenue Act, excepting the duty on tea. 4. Object of the retention of the duty on tea. Sloane, 154–157; Lecky, iii. 396, 401–404; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 233–241; Bancroft, iii. 347–348, 380–385.

Research. — Extent of the abstinence in the colonies from the use of English goods. Franklin, *Works*, vii. 441; Winsor, *America*, vi. 76–80; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 439–441.

96. The "Boston Massacre."

Topics and References.

1. Boston citizens fired upon by British troops. — Removal of the regiments from the city. J. Adams, *Works*, ii. 229–236; Hosmer, *Adams*, 160–182, and *Hutchinson*, ch. vii.; Bancroft, iii. 370–378; Lecky, iii. 397–401; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 429–431; Hutchinson iii. 263–280.

97. The Carolina Regulators.

Topics and References.

1. Origin of the "Regulators." 2. Their conflict with the government. — Battle of the Alamance. Roosevelt, *The Winning*, i. 105–110; Sloane, 151, 159–160; Bancroft, iii. 232–233, 394–395, 398–403; Am. Hist. Ass'n, 1894.

3. Settlers in East Tennessee. — Articles of the Watauga Association. Roosevelt, *The Winning*, i. 172–193; Phelan, ch. i.–iii.

98. "Lord Dunmore's War."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Provocations to an Indian outbreak. — Murder of Logan's family. 2. Battle of Point Pleasant. Winsor, *Westward*, ch. v.; Roosevelt, *The Winning*, i. ch. viii.–ix.; Jefferson, iii. 156–165.

99. Fresh Exasperations. — Institution of Committees of Correspondence.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Tea smuggling. — Burning of the Gaspee. 2. Massachusetts judges to be paid by the king. 3. Committees of Correspondence organized in Massachusetts. 4. The idea taken up in Virginia and developed into an inter-colonial system (text in MacDonald, i. 336–337). Bancroft, iii. 414–415, 423, 426–428, 436–437; Hosmer, *Adams*, 190–206; Sloane, 160–162; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 265–286.

RESEARCH. — The objections to a payment of judges' salaries by the king. J. Adams, ii. 316–317; iii. 513–574.

100. The "Boston Tea-Party."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. King George's scheme for selling taxed tea to the colonies. 2. Treatment of the tea-ships at New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. 3. The "tea-party" at Boston. Hosmer, *Adams*, 235–236, 243–256; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 296–314; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 82–92; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 431–433; Hutchinson, iii. 422–441; Bancroft, iii. 443–458; *O. S. Leaf.*, 68; Sloane, 166–168.

101. The Punishing of Boston and Massachusetts.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The five revengeful acts of Parliament (texts in MacDonald, i. 337–356). 2. Governor Hutchinson superseded by General Gage. — Massachusetts under military rule. 3. Sympathy and support from other colonies. Lecky, iii. 421–439; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 317–330, 344–348; Hosmer, *Adams*, 264–274, 280–288; Bancroft, iii. 471–482, iv. 5–18; Hutchinson, iii. 454–460; Washington, ii. 418–426, 429–436.

RESEARCH. — The suffering produced in Boston. Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 324. — Provisions of the Quebec Act. Kingsford, v. 224–261; Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, 141–143.

102. The Continental Congress.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. A Continental Congress proposed. 2. Meeting of the Congress. — Its illustrious members. Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 359–365; Hildreth, iii. 38–42; Bancroft, iv. 23–24, 30–36; Sloane, 170–176; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 434–439.

103. New England Temper displayed. — The Suffolk County Resolutions.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Effect of an attempt to seize provincial powder. 2. Its revelation to General Gage. 3. Suffolk County resolutions (text in *Am. Archives*, i. 776–782). Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 106–109; Bancroft, iv. 52–60.

104. Action of the Continental Congress.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Promised support to Massachusetts. 2. Declaration of American Rights (text in MacDonald, i. 356–361). 3. Petitions and addresses. 4. Association and covenant to stop trade with Great Britain (text in MacDonald, i. 362–367). 5. Action concerning the slave trade. J. Adams, i. 149–164; ii. 365–400; Morse, *Adams*, ch. ii.; Hosmer, *Adams*, 307–321; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 364–391; Bancroft, iv. 61–77; Lecky, iii. 443–455; Hildreth, iii. 42–46; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 439–441.

RESEARCH. — Address of the Congress to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, and its effect. Kingsford, v. 249–255, 262–267.

105. The "Olive Branch" offered by Lord North.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Reception in England of the appeals of Congress. 2. Concessions offered by Lord North (text in MacDonald, i. 367–368). 3. The reply of Congress (text in MacDonald, i. 385–389). Hil-

dreth, iii. 57–65; Bancroft, iv. 96–105, 114–120, 127–130; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 406–413; Lecky, iii. 456–461.

106. Arming for the Conflict. — The "Minute Men."

Topics and References.

1. General approval of the action of Congress. 2. Armed organizations. 3. Practical nullification of the Regulating Act in Massachusetts. 4. "Committee of Safety." 5. Massachusetts "Minute Men." Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 392–395, and *Siege of Boston*, 41–43; Bancroft, iv. 121–125, 130–131.

THE MAKING OF A NATION.
1775–1800.

THE STATE OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.[1]

The Country and the People. — Conditions of Life. The population of the thirteen colonies at the beginning of the War of Independence was probably not far from 3,000,000 (some have estimated more, some less), of whom about 500,000 were slaves. It was a population so scattered on a narrow fringe of seaboard country 1200 miles long, and so separated by obstacles to transportation and travel, that it could not exert its whole military strength. Its territory was crossed by many large rivers, not one of which was bridged, and all descriptions of the roads represent them as being very rudely made. In their command of the ocean an enormous advantage was held on the British side.

Scattered population.

Generally speaking, these Americans of the later colonial period lived as comfortably, no doubt, with as much of personal independence in their lives, as any people in the world. Actual poverty was quite uncommon in most of the colonies, while considerable wealth was not. Trade, ship-building, ship-owning, cod-fisheries, whale-fishing, had enriched many in the northern and middle colonies; tobacco, rice, and indigo culture, by slave labor, had done the same in the south; and the minor industries of the farm and the shop were

[1] See Maps IV., V., VI., and VII.

everywhere in a prosperous state. It was the prosperity of the colonies — the signs of wealth among them — that most excited the determination in England to tax them and to monopolize their trade. Their country was looked upon as a piece of British national property, — an imperial estate, — which the tenants ought to cultivate for the benefit of its landlords instead of making themselves rich.

Prosperity and wealth.

Domestic Manufactures. The very efforts of the home government to compel the colonists to buy British goods drove them into manufacturing as far as possible for themselves. There seems to have been as much of public policy as of gain-seeking in what they did to that end. They formed societies and committees "for the promotion of arts and economy;" offered premiums for flax-growing, for spun yarns and woven fabrics, for leather-dressing and shoe-making, and the like; opened spinning schools; organized spinning-matches between the young women of towns and neighborhoods, and spinning and weaving exhibitions, to stimulate household manufacturing, which had to be depended on mostly for the results desired. The outcome of all this persevering effort was, that when they undertook retaliation for oppressive measures of the British government, by leagues and pledges not to buy certain classes of English goods, they were tolerably well prepared to supply themselves. This was truer of the northern and middle colonies, however, than of those at the south, where the different conditions of society and labor forbade the same results. "The household industry of the New England provinces, and of some parts of the middle colonies, was nearly or quite equal to the ordinary wants of the inhabitants for clothing," at the opening of the War of Independence; "but the scarcity and dearness of clothing and camp furniture, particularly of woollens suitable for the use of the army, was early experienced."[1]

Promotion of industrial arts.

Extent of household industries.

[1] Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, i. 390.

Class Differences. Differences of wealth had produced in some colonies marked differences of class. That effect was most notable at the south. The exceptional circumstances of the wealthy planters, especially in Virginia, made them proud, masterful, accustomed to the exercise of authority, and gave the superior men among them an advantageous training for leadership in the public affairs of a revolutionary time. That they furnished somewhat more than their proportion of leaders to the Revolution, and to the politics of the Union for some decades after it was constitutionally formed, is an explainable fact. The circumstances of the planters of South Carolina differed essentially from those existing in Virginia. They lived less on their plantations, which were, to a great extent, in unhealthy places. Their residence was in Charleston, more than on their estates, and that city, the one important seat of trade at the south, centralized every kind of influence in itself.

Virginia leader.

Charleston.

Hereditary wealth in lands and slaves caused a class distinction in the southern colonies; in New York that distinction was caused by hereditary wealth in lands alone. Some of the great patroon estates, of Dutch creation (see sect. 33), had survived on the Hudson, and some others of like magnitude had been acquired during the English rule. They were preserved from division by what is known as the law of primogeniture, which makes the eldest son in a family the sole heir to his father's lands, and so keeps the estate unbroken from generation to generation. Until after the Revolution that law prevailed in the southern colonies and in New York. The families holding these so-called "manors" gave the lead to what was looked upon as an aristocratic caste, the influence of which in public affairs was resented and opposed by a strong democratic party among the people. That antagonism of classes became violent in the Leisler episode (see sect. 53), and existed long afterward, entering more or less

Primogeniture.

Class differences in New York.

into the subsequent rally of parties for and against the oppressive measures of the British Parliament and crown. Many, however, of the wealthy families — Schuylers, Livingstons, Van Rensselaers, Jays, Clintons, for example — took the patriotic side. The colonial Tory party was stronger in New York than elsewhere, mainly for the reason that New York city was the British military headquarters, and the army officers brought potent influences to bear on its people, in both a social and a business way. Despite such influences, the Whig or patriot party showed remarkable determination and strength.

Colonial Massachusetts was not without a very well-marked class to which some social deference was paid, but its claims to such deference were founded on superior culture quite as much, at least, as on superior wealth. Education in the elementary sense was almost universal; the finer cultivation of thought, language, and manner, which never becomes universal, seems to have conferred more than usual distinction in the old Puritan community, and commanded especial respect. But all classes were as nearly of one mind as it is possible for a mixed public to be, on the subject of their political rights. There were not a few Tories in the province, many of them, like Governor Hutchinson, men of sincere conviction, to whom their country was very dear, and who believed they were doing it the best service by resisting rebellion against the Parliament and the king; but they were largely outnumbered by the people who felt justified in going to any length of resistance when their liberties were assailed. While this was generally true of the colonies, the Tory party was more numerous in most of them, and more respectable in character, than used to be supposed.

Society in Massachusetts.

Political Literature. A century of controversy with English kings, ministers, and parliaments, defending their colonial charters and their constitutional rights as British subjects, had stimulated and educated the people of the colonies remarkably in the direction of political knowledge and thought.

Especially in its later years, the argumentation of that exciting dispute had been, both in England and in America, an intellectual influence of great force. In both countries it had trained men, not only in political thinking, but in the clear and strong expression of political thought. It produced, as a consequence, in the generation that brought the controversy to its crisis, such a body of political literature, English and American, as can hardly be matched in any other time, in any tongue. The parliamentary oratory of Great Britain has nothing to surpass, if anything to equal, the speeches on American questions of Burke, Chatham, Fox, and others; while the speeches, pamphlets, memorials, formal addresses, and declarations which poured from colonial lips and pens — from James Otis, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Dickinson, Joseph Warren, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, Peyton Randolph, Daniel Dulaney, Christopher Gadsden, John Jay, the youthful Alexander Hamilton, and many more — represent the high mark of American literature in the political field.[1]

Political thinking and writing.

Other Literature. In other fields, two American names had been written so high as to be counted among the few of great distinction in the world at large. Jonathan Edwards in philosophy and Benjamin Franklin in science and all practical wisdom had won that

Edwards and Franklin.

[1] Speaking in January, 1775, in the House of Lords, Chatham said of the addresses and declarations that had emanated from the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, in the previous year: "For myself, I must avow that in all my reading — and I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master-states of the world — for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it."

rank. Massachusetts had added to the chronicles of her earliest historians a fine work by her scholarly Tory governor, Thomas Hutchinson; an ambitious ecclesiastical history, the "Magnalia Christi Americana" of Cotton Mather; a painstaking "Chronological History" by Thomas Prince, and spirited Indian war narratives by Benjamin Church, Samuel Penhallow, and Samuel Niles. Virginia and New York had found worthy historians, the former in Robert Beverley, William Byrd, and William Stith; the latter in Chief Justice William Smith, who wrote provincial history from the Tory standpoint, and Cadwallader Colden, a fellow loyalist, to whom we owe the first history of the Five Nations of the Iroquois. Of lighter literature nothing of much value had been produced.

Historians.

Slavery and the Slave Trade. Slaves were still held in all the colonies; but the employments for slave labor were really profitable in none of them except Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, and even there the system was rooted only in the tide-water and midland parts. It gained little footing in the mountainous western borders of the southern colonies, where large plantations were never formed. At the beginning of the Revolution there are supposed to have been about 165,000 slaves in Virginia, 110,000 in South Carolina, 80,000 in Maryland, 75,000 in North Carolina, 16,000 in Georgia, being 446,000 in those five provinces, against about 55,000 in the remaining eight. Of the latter number, 15,000 are estimated for New York, 10,000 for Pennsylvania, 9000 for Delaware, and 7600 for New Jersey, leaving for the four New England colonies (Maine included in Massachusetts) some 13,400. Slavery had had more growth in New York than in the other northern colonies; but even there it was rooted so slightly that gradual emancipation by law was adopted before the century came to its end. Quaker sentiment in Pennsylvania had always condemned human bondage, and, as soon as the province became free to act for itself, it took measures (1780)

Distribution of slaves.

Emancipation.

for ending slavery within its bounds. In the same year Massachusetts struck down the institution more summarily, by a declaration in its state constitution that all men are free, which, according to a judicial decision rendered soon afterward, gave freedom at once to every slave. In the other parts of New England slavery was extinguished by acts of gradual emancipation, or died out naturally within the next few years.

In several of the colonies, including Virginia, the importation of slaves from Africa would have been stopped some time before they assumed independence, if royal authority had not interfered to prevent. The Virginia Assembly passed an act for that purpose in 1769, and the governor vetoed it, in obedience to commands from the king. Several previous attempts to place a duty on the importation of slaves had been similarly annulled. Legislation of the Massachusetts Assembly to stop the increase of slaves in the province was vetoed by Governor Hutchinson in 1771, and again by General Gage in 1774. In suggestions offered to the delegates sent from Virginia to the Continental Congress of 1774, Jefferson gave prominence to this among the wrongs which the colonies had suffered at the hands of King George.[1] In fact, the English government fostered slavery systematically in the colonies, for the increase of the slave trade, which was cherished as a principal source of national wealth. In making peace with Spain, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it had exacted and obtained a contract, called the Assiento, for the exclusive supplying of Spanish colonies with African slaves, and

English responsibility.

The Assiento.

[1] "There was a great and general dislike to the excessive importation of negroes, and . . . every attempt to prohibit or restrict that importation was rebuked and defeated by England. . . . The state governors were forbidden to give the necessary assent to any measure restricting it, and the English pursued this policy steadily to the very eve of the Revolution." Lecky, *Hist. of Eng. in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. ch. v.

the traffic which that contract secured was enormous in extent. Traders in the English colonies had their share of it, which was not small. Rhode Island and Massachusetts, especially, were engaged heavily in the pitiless trade, and the greater part of the rum distilled from smuggled West India molasses went to buy captive negroes on the African coast, for sale to the English colonists of the south and to the West India colonies of France and Spain. Original responsibility for the great evil of slavery in America rests, therefore, not unevenly on England and the English colonies, north and south alike.

New England and the slave trade.

CHAPTER VI.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. 1775–1783.

107. Lexington and Concord. — "The Shot heard round the World." April 19, 1775. Gage had orders to arrest both Samuel Adams and John Hancock, on the charge of high treason, and to send them to England for trial; but though they were daily within reach of the governor, he made no attempt to lay hands on them for weeks. At length the two specially offending patriots were reported to be visiting friends at Lexington, and Gage thought it possible to seize them in that quiet village without setting any dangerous tumult astir. At the same time the opportunity would be good for destroying certain military stores which the patriots had collected at Concord, not far beyond. Accordingly, on the night of the 18th of April, 800 British troops were sent out from Boston, with great secrecy and silence, to surprise Lexington in its sleep. Everybody knows the thrilling story of what happened then: of the alertness of the Boston patriots; of the effective plans of Warren for sending warnings into the country, whatever direction the troops might take; of the signal lights from the North Church belfry, which told Paul Revere, at Charlestown, what way to ride; of the effect with which he rode, rousing the farms and villages as he went; of the wakening of Adams and Hancock and their quiet departure through the fields

Paul Revere.

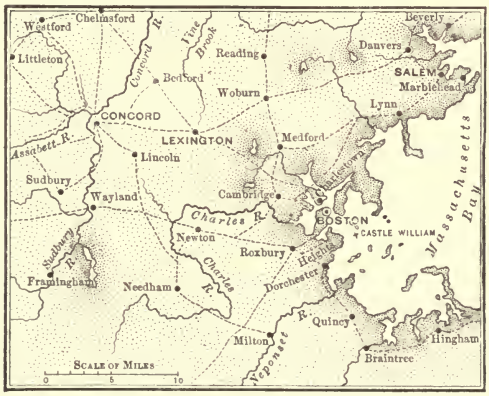
to Woburn; of the first bloodshed of the War of Independence on Lexington Green, as the sun came up on the morning of Wednesday, the 19th of April, when a little company of minute men, who would not disperse at Major Pitcairn's command, received the fire of the British advance; of the fight at Concord, where

On Lexington Green, April 19, 1775.

> "the embattled farmers stood,
> And fired the shot heard round the world;"

of the dreadful retreat of the exhausted soldiers of King George, through miles of country that swarmed with maddened people, ambushed all along the road. The tragic incidents of that memorable day are familiar to every American child. Before it ended, twenty-

Fight at Concord.



BOSTON, LEXINGTON, CONCORD, AND VICINITY.

three towns had joined the fighting, and 93 Americans had fallen, wounded or killed, while the British had lost 273.

As the exciting tale of battle was borne swiftly in all directions, it found the major part of the people ready

everywhere to accept the gage of war that Great Britain had now thrown down. Minute men from all New England were hurrying toward Boston before the next day's sun went down, and the end of the week found Gage beleaguered in the city by 13,000 resolute men. They were poorly equipped in every way, and not provisioned at all; they were little trained, except in the use of their muskets; the only experience among their officers was that of men who had served in the "French and Indian War" of fifteen years before; but they were bent on driving the British regulars out of Boston, and the British fleet out of the Bay. Israel Putnam commanded the Connecticut men, John Stark led those of New Hampshire, Nathanael Greene was colonel of a Rhode Island regiment, and General Artemas Ward, a veteran of the last war, much disabled in health, commanded the whole.

Boston besieged.

108. Effect of the News. April–May, 1775. The spirit kindled in New England flamed up in every other colony as fast as news of the 19th of April sped west and south. New York heard of it on Sunday, and that same day there was a rising of the Sons of Liberty which practically swept the royal government out of power. Arms, military stores, and provisions, destined for the British troops at Boston, were seized; possession was taken of the custom-house, and a committee of one hundred citizens was appointed to take direction of public affairs. New Jersey took instant steps to assemble a provincial congress. At Philadelphia a great town meeting, on Tuesday, the 25th, agreed to defend their lives, their property, and their liberty "with arms," and even a Quaker company was formed. In Maryland the freemen demanded and the governor surrendered the arms and ammunition of the

The news in New York.

province. Virginia was already ablaze with an excitement of its own; for Governor Dunmore had carried off a quantity of gunpowder from the colony magazine, and the militia of Hanover, with Patrick Henry at their head, were starting for Williamsburg to demand that it be restored. Before they reached the capital Dunmore paid for what he had taken, and they turned back; but he provoked another rising soon after and fled, taking refuge on a man-of-war and acting as an enemy of the province from that time. South Carolina had not waited for a British act of violence before taking the attitude of war. On the 21st of April, a full fortnight before Charleston knew of what had happened at Lexington, the men of that town had laid hands on the royal arsenal and the public magazines, having appointed a committee of five, with Henry Laurens at their head, to place the colony in a state of defence. In North Carolina the popular demonstration at Newbern was such that the governor withdrew to Fort Johnson and sent his wife to New York; while the Scotch-Irish inhabitants of Mecklenburg County adopted resolutions which are claimed to have been the first demand for independence that was uttered by any assembly of people.

Virginia in arms.

Mecklenburg Declaration.

109. Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. May 10, 1775. As quickly as the slow travel of the time could bring it to them, the New Englanders besieging Gage at Boston had assurance of support from every British-American community except Quebec. Meantime they had been pushing operations of war outside of the siege. An expedition set on foot in Connecticut, but carried out mainly by hardy settlers of the Green Mountain region (then known as the "New Hampshire Grants," but soon afterward called Vermont), surprised

the strong fort at Ticonderoga, on the morning of the 10th of May. The "Green Mountain Boys" who performed this fine exploit were led by Ethan Allen; Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, joining them as a volunteer. The surrender of Crown Point followed, and these two important captures gave the provincials more than two hundred cannon, with a quantity of ammunition and other stores.

110. Second Continental Congress. — Appointment of Washington to Chief Command. May–June, 1775. The second Continental Congress opened its sessions at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. Franklin, who had arrived from England only five days before, was now, with Dickinson, in the Pennsylvania delegation; Samuel and John Adams had come again from Massachusetts, with the dignified John Hancock in their company; Virginia had sent Washington again, with Lee, Henry, and Randolph, but Randolph was recalled very soon by duties in the colonial Assembly and Thomas Jefferson was delegated in his place; Jay and Livingston from New York, Gadsden from South Carolina, and other staunch patriots from the first Congress, were seated anew. Randolph was made president until called away; then Hancock was honored with the place.

Patriots present.

The action of Congress still invited reconciliation. While adopting, on one hand, a calm declaration of "the causes and necessity for taking up arms," it addressed, on the other hand, another petition to King George. At the same time it made common cause with New England in the hostilities already begun, by adopting the forces in arms, or to be in arms, as a "Continental Army," assuming the direction of it and appointing its commander-in-chief. On the request of the Massachusetts delegation,

George Washington, of Virginia, was so commissioned; and by that inspired act the achievement of American independence and the successful founding of the federal republic of the United States were assured. What Washington would be to the great revolutionary undertaking no man could have foreseen. He had given more promise of high military capacity, perhaps, than any other in the colonies who wore a sword, and he had won the perfect trust of all who knew him best; but how little, after all, could any in that day have known of the unique greatness of the man! As we look back now at the events of the history in which Washington's figure is so grand, we cannot imagine a successful outcome of the revolt, or a successful binding up of the colonies in one nation, without him. He was not the greatest of soldiers, he was not the greatest of statesmen; but he combined with perfection the qualities, both moral and intellectual, that were needed for what he did. They produced in him a character so massive, so strong, so majestic, that it bore up the whole cause.

Washington appointed, June 15, 1775.

The greatness of Washington.

Under the commander-in-chief, four major-generals, — Artemas Ward, Israel Putnam, Philip Schuyler, and Charles Lee, — with eight brigadier-generals, including Richard Montgomery, John Sullivan, and Nathanael Greene, were named. The appointment of Charles Lee, an English adventurer, unprincipled and worthless, was a grave mistake.

Thus, in answer to a general expectation and desire, the Continental Congress took upon itself the conduct of whatever there should need to be of war. But, while assuming the responsibilities of the impending struggle, it assumed no power to enforce an order it might give, or authority to levy a dollar of taxation for the expenses

incurred. Its whole exercise of a nominal authority to direct the common action of the thirteen colonies was left dependent on the willingness of each provincial government to be submissive to its advice. Professor von Holst and other recent historians have maintained, with what seems to be sound reasoning, that, being a revolutionary body, in a revolutionary crisis, the Continental Congress might properly have claimed and exercised all the functions of a national legislature, from the beginning, and would probably have been sustained by popular opinion in doing so. Instead of taking that strong, consistent course, it went only halfway. Consequently, the respect and deference which the Congress commanded at the outset was lost, and state governments, when formed, became the only governments felt and known in reality by the people, who struggled through their war of independence with nothing that could be called a governing head.

The missed opportunity of Congress.

111. Bunker Hill. June 17, 1775. While continental sanction was being given to the New England proceedings of war, those proceedings were acquiring more importance from fresh events. Reinforcements had raised the British force in Boston to about 10,000 men, whereupon General Gage prepared for a movement to extend his lines. The provincial leaders learned his intention, and undertook to frustrate it by sending Colonel Prescott, with about 1200 men, in the night of the 16th of June, to occupy and fortify a rise of ground near Charlestown called Bunker Hill. When Prescott reached the ground he thought it best to advance a little farther, to the next eminence, called Breed's Hill, and there his men were set silently to work. The British discovered nothing till the morning of the 17th; then their frigates in the harbor opened fire on the unfinished

Breed's Hill.

work, without much effect. At noon they had determined to storm the rising fortification, which endangered them if the besiegers should be able to bring heavy guns into place. About 3000 veteran soldiers were landed near Charlestown, under General Howe, and led in two columns, one against the entrenchment on Breed's Hill, the other against a supporting body of Americans, who had taken position on the flank of the latter, behind a rail fence. Both columns were repulsed, with terrific loss to the assailants, the Americans having reserved their fire until the British came within fifty yards. After some time, during which the village of Charlestown was set on fire by shells from the fleet, a second assault was made, with the same result. By this time the Americans had nearly exhausted their ammunition, and none came to them, though sent for again and again; nor did they receive reinforcements, except as many volunteers came over to join them during the day. Had the needed men and gunpowder come, the third assault, made late in the afternoon, would probably have failed. As it was, when the defenders of the hill had emptied their powder horns, their clubbed muskets were poor weapons against the bayonet, and they gave way.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

The third assault.

For their victory, if it was a victory, the British had

paid a fearful price, losing 1054 in killed and wounded, or more than a third of their force, and the proportion of officers struck down was unusually large. The Americans lost 449, about one fourth of the number engaged; and among the killed was the noble Dr. Warren, who had joined the force on the hill as a volunteer. His death was a heavy loss to the American cause. But the battle gave more encouragement to the losers than to the winners of the ground on which it was fought.

112. Washington's Task. — Expeditions to Canada. July–December, 1775. On the 2d of July, two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill, General Washington arrived at Cambridge and took command. There were 16,000 men in the force around Boston, all New Englanders; but 3000 came soon from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, including a famous company of Virginian sharpshooters, with Daniel Morgan at their head. The 19,000 then assembled formed an army in numbers alone; of real organization it had none. The men had been enlisted by different committees, for different short terms, with great uncertainty as to the sources from which pay or even food would come. They were accoutred in all sorts of fashions, and sheltered in all sorts of makeshift ways. Such were the hard conditions of the task of war which Washington had undertaken to direct; and, though they slowly settled into something better, there was always such a chaos of diverse authorities behind him as would have broken down any courage and constancy less invincible than his.

The American army.

Months of preparation were needed before Washington could venture any serious attempt to drive the British out of Boston; but while he toiled at his task, two expeditions were sent into Canada, for the capture of Montreal and Quebec. One, led

Expeditions into Canada.

from Ticonderoga by General Montgomery, took the former town (November 12); the second, commanded by Benedict Arnold, after great sufferings in a march through the Maine wilderness, was joined by Montgomery in a daring assault on the walls of Quebec (December 31) which nearly had success; but Montgomery fell, his men wavered, and were driven back. Morgan and his company, who formed part of the expedition, had actually entered the town, and were captured; Arnold received a severe wound.

113. Ripening of the Public Mind for Independence. 1775–1776. In these months a great change in public feeling had been wrought by news from England. King George had launched a proclamation, in violent terms, against the "open and avowed rebellion" in America, and had contracted with certain despotic German princes for the hiring of 20,000 soldiers, Hessians and others, to be employed for the suppression of the revolt. The effect of this last-named measure, when known, was to swell the number of patriots who were ready to renounce allegiance to the king; and the Congress at Philadelphia began to take steps which led plainly that way. To Virginia, South Carolina, and New Hampshire, whose royal governors had fled from their posts, it gave advice that they frame governments for themselves. It recommended that South Carolina should seize British ships in its ports; that Virginia should take arms against Dunmore, who was gathering forces at Norfolk and offering freedom to slaves; that New York should place its troublesome governor, Tryon, under arrest. It appointed a committee to correspond with foreign powers. It was moving steadily toward a position in which independence would have to be declared.

Hessians hired by King George.

Recommendations by Congress.

In October the New York governor, Tryon, took refuge on a British ship of war. Dunmore and the Virginians fought a battle at Great Bridge, near Norfolk, in December, and the colonists took the town. It was bombarded soon afterward by a British ship and destroyed. Early in the year 1776 information came of an act of Parliament authorizing the capture and confiscation of all American ships and cargoes, and the forcible enlistment in the British navy of captured crews. At nearly the same time a remarkable pamphlet, entitled "Common Sense," which set forth the arguments for independence in a striking way, was published by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, lately arrived in Philadelphia. The effect of Paine's pamphlet, helped by the new act of Parliament, was to ripen the sentiment in favor of independence very fast.

Paine's pamphlet, January, 1776.

114. Boston given up by the British. March 17, 1776. Early in March, 1776, the preparations of Washington for a decisive movement at Boston were complete. What he had to do is indicated by one passage in a letter which he wrote to the president of Congress a few months before: "To maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without powder," he wrote, "and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted;" but he accomplished the feat. The enemy knew nothing of his desperate straits until too late. At last he had powder enough, guns enough (dragged from Ticonderoga), tools enough, men enough, for a venture; and on the night of March 4 he seized and fortified Dorchester Heights, which so commanded Boston harbor that his Ticonderoga cannon would drive out

Washington's preparation.

Seizure of Dorchester Heights.

the British fleet. Howe, who had superseded Gage, ordered an attack on the new works, but thought better of it, and finally gave notice that he would quit the town if permitted to go in peace, but would lay it in ashes if fired on; and so, by tacit agreement, the besieged army and fleet, with 900 of their Tory friends, made an undisturbed retreat to Halifax, leaving behind them a rich prize of military stores.

115. War in North Carolina. — Demands for a Declaration of Independence. February–June, 1776. An exciting clash of war had occurred meantime in North Carolina, where British agents had enlisted some 1600 Scotch Highlanders and started them toward the coast, to meet expected expeditions from Boston and from Ireland, and to take part in a grand campaign. But the march of the Scotchmen was stopped at Moore's Creek (February 27) by North Carolina militia, who put them to rout. This battle so roused the province that the force sent from Boston, under Sir Henry Clinton, dared not land, when it arrived, but waited in Albemarle Sound for the fleet from Ireland until May. Before that time, the energetic Carolinians had elected a provincial congress, which met and (April 12) empowered the delegates of the colony in the Continental Congress "to concur with the delegates in the other colonies in declaring independency and forming foreign alliances." In Georgia a provincial congress had already, in February, instructed its delegates substantially to the same effect; while South Carolina, on the 26th of March, established the constitution and organized the government of an independent state.

Battle of Moore's Creek, February 27, 1776.

The lead which the southernmost colonies had thus taken in pronouncing for independence was now followed quickly. Rhode Island spoke next, on the 4th of

May. On the 10th of the same month the General Court of Massachusetts (reëstablished, according to the old charter, in the previous summer) called on the towns to express themselves on the subject, and they did so by their town meetings that month. Virginia, in a convention specially chosen, voted unanimously for independence on the 14th of May; and the same convention, on the 12th of June, issued a famous "Declaration of Rights," setting forth that "all men are by nature equally free and independent," and that "all power is vested in and consequently derived from the people." Before the end of June every one of the remaining colonies, except New York, had declared for independence, or empowered its delegates in Congress to act in unison with the rest.

The colonies speaking out.

Virginia Declaration of Rights.

The delay in New York was caused by the strength of the Tory party there, animated by an expectation that the whole force commanded by General Howe, now increased by Hessian arrivals, would soon be knocking at the gates of the Hudson River valley. In the military view, immense importance attached to the possession of that river and valley, which parted New England from the colonies farther south, and which would, if held by the British, unite them with Canada and with the Six Nations of Indians, whose savage alliance they were trying to engage. To secure New York, Washington had hastened thither with his army, as quickly as possible after Boston was relieved; but his command had dwindled to about 8000 men, and Howe was coming from Halifax with a vastly greater force.

Washington at New York, April, 1776.

116. Independence declared. July 4, 1776. On the 4th of July, 1776, — most memorable of all days in American history, — the step was taken which separated

the English in America from the English in Britain politically, and a new great nation was born. Congress had prepared for it three weeks before, by appointing a committee to draft the contemplated Declaration of Independence, and that immortal manifesto was composed by Thomas Jefferson, whose broad understanding of political principles and fine gifts of expression had been shown in some notable examples before. As the Declaration came from Jefferson's pen, with a few verbal changes suggested by Franklin and John Adams, it was reported to Congress on the 2d of July, and adopted, after slight amendments, on the 4th, but was not signed till some days later, when it had been duly engrossed.

Author of the Declaration of Independence.

The resistance to Great Britain was now no longer a rebellion, but the struggle of a new nation for its life.

Congress had already recommended that governments based on the "authority of the people" be established in every colony, and seven such independent governments, either provisional or permanent in constitution, had been organized before the general declaration of independence was put forth. These were in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, and New Jersey. Delaware and Pennsylvania adopted state constitutions in the next September; Maryland followed in November; North Carolina in December; Georgia in February, and New York in April of 1777. The "thirteen colonies" had then completed their transformation into American States.

Formation of state governments, 1776-1777.

117. British Repulse at Charleston. June 28, 1776. Almost simultaneously with news of the Declaration of Independence, a cheering message from Charleston was carried through the land. Sir Henry Clinton had been

joined by the squadron from Ireland, which brought fresh forces, and had attacked the fortifications in Charleston harbor on the 28th of June. The main defence of the harbor was a rude fort, built hastily of palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island, by Colonel Moultrie, who held it, with 1200 men. General Charles Lee, sent to take command in the south, had scorned this work and given orders for its abandonment; but Moultrie, sustained by President Rutledge, of the provincial congress, refused to withdraw. The result was that the valiant Moultrie and his force repulsed the attack, losing but 37 in killed and wounded, while the loss of the assailants was 205.

Colonel Moultrie's fort.

118. Battle of Long Island. — Retreat of Washington from New York and through New Jersey. August–December, 1776. The months that followed these good tidings were filled with disheartening events. By the end of July not less than 30,000 British troops and a powerful fleet were assembled on Staten Island and in New York Bay, General William Howe and Admiral Lord Howe in command. They were busily preparing to attack the city, which Washington must try to defend against them, with a militia force now increased to some 20,000 men. On Long Island he had fortified Brooklyn Heights, which commanded New York, and half of his little army, stationed there, was overwhelmed by 20,000 of Howe's veterans on the 27th of August, losing 1000 prisoners, besides 400 in wounded and killed. The remainder of the American force, hemmed in by the enemy, was rescued with skilfulness by Washington and brought across the river, on the night of the 29th. The loss of the Heights made New York no longer tenable, and Howe entered the city on the 15th of September, the Americans retreating north-

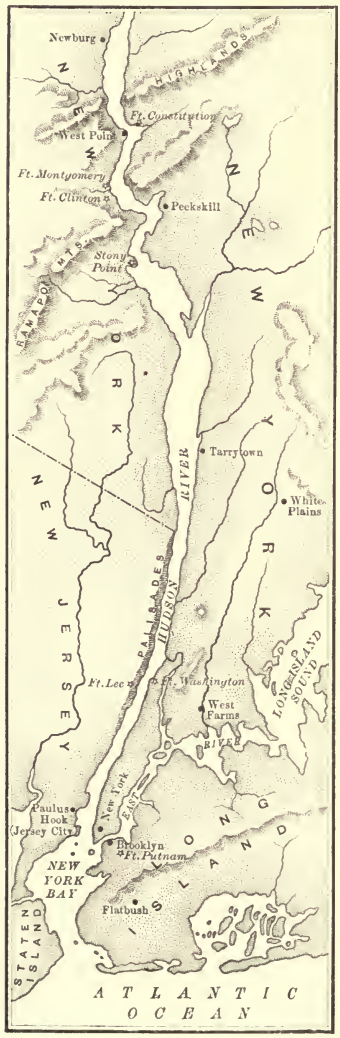
New York captured.

ward, fighting stubbornly as they drew back to a strong position, up the river, among the hills. At the same time they were threatened from the north, the British commander in Canada, Sir Guy Carleton, having attempted an invasion by way of Lake Champlain; but Benedict Arnold, in command at Ticonderoga, got a fleet of small vessels afloat and checked his advance, though defeated, in a stubborn fight (October 11).

Arnold checks British on Lake Champlain.

Hostile criticism began now to assail the sorely tried commander-in-chief; envious rivals intrigued against him; ignorant men in Congress interfered with his plans. Fort Washington, on the Hudson, was lost in consequence (November 16), with a garrison of nearly 3000 men, and the wretched impostor, General Charles Lee, now back from the south, had en-

Intrigues against Washington.



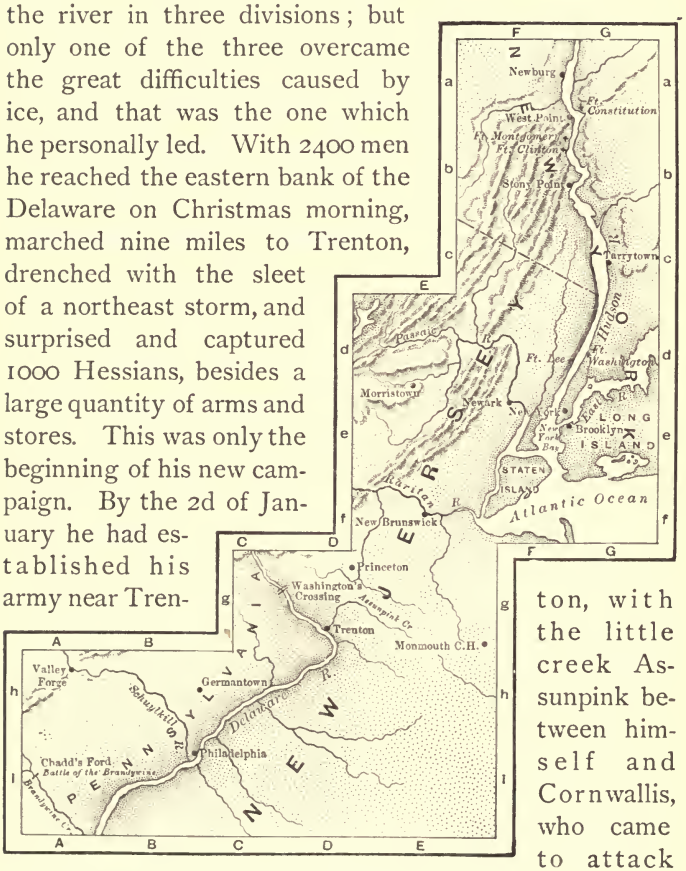
THE FIELD OF WAR ON THE HUDSON.

couragement to disobey orders, keeping 7000 of the meagre American force away from the commander's control at a most critical time. But, happily for the American cause, Lee put himself, presently, in the way of being caught by the British, and one serious cause of mischief was removed for a time. Washington had then crossed the Hudson and retreated through New Jersey, to a point beyond the Delaware, pursued by Lord Cornwallis, with British and Hessian troops. The short terms of so many of his militia-men had expired that hardly 3000 remained, and most of those would be entitled to discharge at the end of the year. There was no money for their pay, and no public credit on which to raise funds. Washington and some of his officers borrowed what they could on the pledge of their own estates. "These are the times," wrote Thomas Paine, "that try men's souls." None but the stoutest-hearted could feel hopeful of the cause. Some thousands in New York and New Jersey accepted Howe's offer of British protection, swearing allegiance to the king. Philadelphia expected nothing but a speedy invasion, even Congress giving way to panic and adjourning to Baltimore, December 12.

"The times that try men's souls."

119. The situation changed. — Washington turns upon his pursuers. December 25, 1776–January 3, 1777. In this dark hour of the war there came a sudden revelation to his despairing countrymen of the extraordinary powers of the man who upheld their cause. Lee's force, greatly dwindled, had reached him at last, and Schuyler, commanding in northern New York, had sent him a few men, so that, by Christmas eve, he had about 6000 in hand. With these he resolved to strike at the enemy, who were feeling secure, in lines scattered along the eastern side of the Delaware, where they waited for

the river to freeze. Having seized every boat within reach, Washington planned to send his little army across the river in three divisions; but only one of the three overcame the great difficulties caused by ice, and that was the one which he personally led. With 2400 men he reached the eastern bank of the Delaware on Christmas morning, marched nine miles to Trenton, drenched with the sleet of a northeast storm, and surprised and captured 1000 Hessians, besides a large quantity of arms and stores. This was only the beginning of his new campaign. By the 2d of January he had established his army near Trenton, with the little creek Assunpink between himself and Cornwallis, who came to attack him there in force. The latter was now sure, as he expressed it, that he had "run down the old fox;" but Washington, leaving his campfires burning and a few men working at entrenchments in



THE SEAT OF WAR BETWEEN THE HUDSON AND DELAWARE.

latter was now sure, as he expressed it, that he had "run down the old fox;" but Washington, leaving his campfires burning and a few men working at entrenchments in

front, slipped away during the night and marched rapidly toward Princeton, where the British had collected stores. Near Princeton he routed a body of 2000 troops, taking more prisoners, and then, entering the town, gathered up more of the enemy's ammunition and arms. From Princeton he moved on to the heights around Morristown, while Cornwallis fell back to New Brunswick. Substantially all that the British had gained since Washington began his retreat through New Jersey was recovered by this brilliant campaign of ten days.

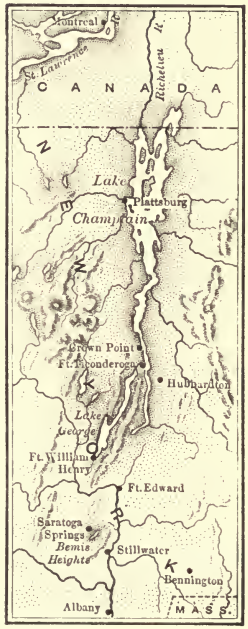
Battle of Princeton, January 3, 1777.

These successes were immensely helpful to the American cause, both at home and abroad. It was now recognized in foreign circles that the crude American army had a great soldier and a man of great character at its head. France was more than willing to give secret aid against England, if her aid was not likely to be thrown away. She had contributed a million dollars, even before independence was declared. Three commissioners from Congress — Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane — were now in Paris, negotiating for more open support. The fame of Franklin gave him an extraordinary influence, and the negotiation was helped greatly by Washington's late campaign. Two millions of livres (about $400,000) was promised yearly by the French government; several cargoes of stores were sent over; the authorities winked at the fitting out of privateers in French ports; and not a few French gentlemen prepared to offer their services, among them the young Marquis de Lafayette. Some secret assistance was also obtained from Spain.

Help from France.

120. Burgoyne's Invasion. — Capture of his Army. — Undeserved Credit to General Gates. July–October, 1777. During the remainder of the winter of 1777

no military movements of note were undertaken on either side. But the next season brought important events. The British government had ordered a formidable invasion of northern New York from Canada, to secure the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk throughout their length. It was made on two lines, one by way of Lake Champlain, the other from Lake Ontario to the Mohawk, thence to a junction with the first. The main movement, under General Burgoyne, began with success. The Americans were easily forced out of Ticonderoga, and beaten in a battle at Hubbardton, early in July. They drew back to Fort Edward, and then to Stillwater, near Saratoga, obstructing the way to delay Burgoyne. Before he could reach Stillwater, large numbers of the militia and untrained farmers of western New England and eastern New York were joining the American forces there, or gathering on the flanks of his march.



ROUTE OF BURGOYNE'S INVASION.

The invasion caused unusual excitement, for the reason that the British had taken savages into their service, professing to be able to keep them under control. This employment of Indians was disapproved by many British officers, and denounced in England, but was insisted upon by the ministers of the king. Feeling on the subject was heightened by a pathetic tragedy, occurring in July, when a beautiful young woman,

Indian allies of the British.

Jenny McCrea, betrothed to an officer in the invading army, and on her way to join him for marriage, was killed and scalped by some of Burgoyne's savage scouts. A fiery rage was kindled everywhere by this dreadful story as it ran through the land.

The serious trouble of Burgoyne began on the 16th of August, when 1000 of his German troops, sent with 100 Indians to seize militia stores at Bennington, Vermont, were surrounded and most of them captured, after a fierce fight. This was mainly the exploit of a crowd of farmers in their shirt-sleeves, commanded by General Stark. Soon afterward, Burgoyne had news of the disastrous failure of the expedition from Lake Ontario, which Colonel St. Leger was leading to join his own. St. Leger had been resisted with obstinacy at Fort Stanwix (now the city of Rome), near the headwaters of the Mohawk, and had fought a hard battle at Oriskany (August 6) with 800 of the local militia, whose commander, Colonel Herkimer, received a mortal wound in the fight. Then, a fortnight later, reports came to him of the approach of a body of troops from the main American army, and exaggerated stories were told him of disaster to Burgoyne. Already discouraged, he now became panic-stricken, and fled from his camp before Fort Stanwix[1] (August 22), abandoning everything, pursued by even his own faithless Indians, and losing all but a small remnant of his force.

Battle of Bennington, August 16, 1777.

St. Leger's failure.

[1] On the 14th of June, 1777, Congress had adopted a design for the flag of the "United States of America," consisting of thirteen alternate red and white stripes, with a blue field containing white stars in the corner. The first military use of the flag is said to have been made during this siege of Fort Stanwix, where one was improvised out of a red petticoat, a white shirt, and an officer's blue cloak.

Burgoyne was then in a desperate situation. The militia on his flanks, in Vermont, under General Lincoln, were breaking his communications and cutting off his supplies. He heard nothing from General Howe, who had been expected to move up the Hudson, from New York. By the middle of September he had no alternative but to fight his way through, without help, if he could. Having crossed to the western side of the Hudson, he attacked the Americans in their strong position near Stillwater, on Bemis Heights, September 19, and again October 7, both battles being fought on nearly the same ground, known as Freeman's Farm. Both attacks were repulsed, and, being entirely hemmed in at Saratoga, his army reduced from 10,000 to less than 6000 men, with no source of supplies, Burgoyne surrendered, October 17. He surrendered on terms which promised permission to his army to return home, but Congress would not allow the promise to be fulfilled.

Battles on Bemis Heights, September 19, October 7, 1777.

The credit for this most telling blow to British hopes was won without being deserved by General Horatio Gates, who had persuaded Congress to appoint him to supersede General Schuyler in command of the northern forces, and who reached the field on the 19th of August, after Burgoyne's fate had really been sealed. The honors of the fighting in both battles belonged to Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan; but the whole apparent glory of the defeat and capture of Burgoyne settled at once on Gates, and he began to aspire to Washington's place. He was an accomplished intriguer, and Congress, which meddled constantly with the military commands, offered a good field for that kind of work.

Unmerited credit to Gates.

121. Why and how General Howe was kept from

meeting Burgoyne. August–October, 1777. Why Howe made no move northward to meet Burgoyne must now be told. He was supposed to have had orders to do so, but the orders were pigeon-holed in London by a careless minister and never sent. Free, therefore, to act on his own judgment, he planned a new movement against Philadelphia, expecting to finish it before Burgoyne would need his help. He had a splendid army, of more than 17,000 men, while Washington, in New Jersey, had but half that number. The latter could not save Philadelphia, but he could make the road to it long and the travel slow. He so manœuvred his little force that the British general, after trying for nearly three weeks to make his movement by land, gave up the attempt, and took the route by sea. August was nearly ended when he landed his army at the head of Chesapeake Bay. Washington had moved down to confront him, taking a strong position on Brandywine Creek, with his force increased to about 11,000. The Americans were outflanked and forced back, in the battle that ensued (September 11); but they had hindered the British advance, and they continued to hinder it for a fortnight more until the 26th, when Howe's troops entered Philadelphia, and the sittings of Congress were transferred to York.

Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777.

Within a week after the British occupation of Philadelphia, Washington had planned an audacious attack on the headquarters of their force, in the suburb of Germantown, which he executed in the early morning of October 4, very nearly with success. But a heavy fog caused confusion and collisions between different columns of the attacking party and spoiled a promising attempt. The Americans retreated with heavy loss.

Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777.

122. Intriguing for Gates, to supplant Washington. — The "Conway Cabal." November, 1777. On the surface of things, Washington had scored nothing but a record of defeats in this year's campaign, and Gates had performed the grand exploit of the war. Hence shallow lookers-on, in and out of Congress, became contemptuous again of the great soldier, and began to call for the intriguing wearer of stolen plumes to be put in chief command. Congress had lost many of its ablest and noblest men: Franklin had been sent to the mission in France, Patrick Henry was called home to be governor, Jefferson to sit in the legislature of Virginia, Rutledge to be chief magistrate of South Carolina, and Jay to assist in framing a constitution for New York. An increasing pettiness of character appeared in the remaining body, and provincial jealousies cropped out in it more and more.

Criticism of Washington.

The most serious danger to the American cause arose from the encouragement that Congress gave to intriguing officers like Lee and Gates. In the fall of 1777 the scheming for the latter was carried on actively by a faction in which one General Conway was conspicuous, and which got the name of the "Conway Cabal." It succeeded so far as to bring about, in November, the appointment of Gates to the presidency of a "Board of War," which had power to interfere seriously with the plans of the commander-in-chief. But the mean character of the conspirators was betrayed by their own conduct, while the dignity and noble spirit of Washington were impressively revealed. The heart of the people went out to him with increased admiration and trust; his detractors were scorned.

The "Conway Cabal."

123. The Winter at Valley Forge. — Suffering of the Army. — State of the Country. December, 1777–May,

1778. To watch the British forces in Philadelphia and make his own as safe as possible, Washington chose a position at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, about twenty-one miles from the city, where he established winter quarters from December until May. The sufferings of the troops in that dreadful winter, and the heroic patience with which they were borne, have been described many times. The soldiers were sheltered well, in log huts that they built, but every need of clothing and food was ill-supplied. In one report to Congress, when remonstrated with for going into winter quarters, Washington wrote: "We have this day no less than 2898 men in camp unfit for duty because they are barefoot and otherwise naked. . . . Numbers still are obliged to sit all night by fires." This dreadful state of want in the army was due in part to faults of organization and management, which Congress would not reform, and in part to the lack of a central government having credit or power to tax. Congress had borrowed to the extent of its ability, and it had issued paper money (called "Continental currency") based on no substantial security, and not, of course, redeemable in coin, until its bills were losing all their nominal worth. In different degrees, the States had done the same. The financial situation of the country, burdened with the war, and with most of its commerce cut off, was very grave.

Valley Forge.

"Continental currency."

In this trying winter two friends who had come from abroad to give help to the young republic were a source of great cheer and support to the commander-in-chief. One was the youthful Lafayette, who won Washington's affections almost as a son; the other was the Baron Steuben, a highly trained officer from the Prussian army of Frederick the Great, to whom Congress gave the office of inspector-general, and

Lafayette and Steuben.

who imparted a new quality to the army by the discipline he taught and inspired. At this time, too, a long intimacy of friendship was being knitted between Washington and young Alexander Hamilton, who had come to the general's staff in the previous March.

Alexander Hamilton.

124. Treaty of Alliance with France. — Peace Overtures from England. February–June, 1778. Before the winter ended, an event of great importance and long hoped for was realized by the signing (February 6, 1778) of a treaty of alliance with France. France recognized the independence of the American States and pledged open support to them, the States agreeing on their part to make no peace with England till their independence was achieved. A year later (April, 1779) Spain joined the alliance, under a treaty with France, but not with the States.

The first effect of this alliance was the passage (February) of two acts by the British Parliament, making conciliatory overtures to the States. One repealed the Tea Act and the act which nullified the Massachusetts charter, declaring, further, that Parliament would not exercise its right to levy taxes in the American colonies; the other provided for the sending of commissioners to America to treat for peace. The second effect was a declaration of war (March 13) between Great Britain and France.

Effect of the alliance.

The offered concessions were insufficient and came too late. Most people in England could see that this was so, and a demand arose for Lord Chatham at the head of the government, with power to make some honorable peace. Even King George might not have ventured to resist this demand; but Chatham was stricken (April 7) with a mortal illness, while speaking in the House of Lords against any

Death of Chatham, May 11, 1778.

consent to American independence, and died on the 11th of the following month. Lord North's commissioners came to America in June, but were told plainly that nothing less than an acknowledgment of the independence of the States would receive consideration.

125. British Evacuation of Philadelphia. — Battle of Monmouth. — Treachery of Charles Lee. June, 1778. The British gained nothing from the possession of Philadelphia, and Sir Henry Clinton, who displaced Howe in May, was ordered to evacuate that city and concentrate his forces at New York. His rear-guard marched out on the 18th of June, and Washington, breaking camp, moved instantly in pursuit. On the night of the 27th the American army, about equal in numbers to Clinton's, had arrived within reach of the latter, in an advantageous position near Monmouth Court House, New Jersey, and prepared to attack. Unfortunately, the treacherous General Charles Lee, lately freed from captivity by exchange, was in command of the advance. It is now known that Lee, while a prisoner at New York, gave information and advice to Howe; but that treason was not discovered till long afterward, and Washington seems to have been obliged to restore the scoundrel to his command when he came back. The result was a new piece of treachery, which nearly caused a calamitous overthrow of Washington's plans. Instead of attacking the enemy on the morning of the 28th, as he was directed to do, Lee gave bewildering orders, throwing his divisions into confusion, and finally commanded a retreat. Lafayette, serving under Lee, sent a hurried report to Washington of what was being done, and the commander arrived on the scene in time to stop the retreat, restore order, re-form a line of battle, under fire, and repel what

Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

had now become a British instead of an American attack. This was so splendidly done, showing such discipline and such generalship, that the battle of Monmouth had the effect of a victory, though the object aimed at was not attained.

The wrath poured by Washington on Lee, in a few blasting words, was a revelation of fierce temper kept usually in subjugation by a strong self-command. The culprit, ordered to the rear, was court-martialed and leniently deprived of command for a year, but afterward dismissed from the army, and did mischief no more.

126. Washington again guarding the Hudson. 1778–1779. Clinton and his army made their way to New York, and Washington stood on guard again by the Hudson River, to keep the British from breaking communications between New England and the other States. From the beginning to the end of the war, that was his vitally important task, on which all other campaigning must depend. He now hoped to trap the enemy in New York, with the help of a French fleet and French troops; but when the fleet came, in July, its largest vessels could not cross the bar, and the project was given up. Count d'Estaing, the French commander, then joined in an attack on the British at Newport, which, outside of New York, was their sole foothold in the thirteen States; but the undertaking failed.

French allies, July-November, 1778.

127. Tory and Indian Raids on the Frontier. — Sullivan's Expedition to Western New York. 1778–1781. Extensive operations of war in the Northern States were now given up by the British military authorities, who turned their attention to the south; but a purely revengeful and vindictive warfare against frontier settlements in New York and Pennsylvania was

carried on by Tories and savages in British pay. Tory inhabitants of the New York border, driven from their homes, had gathered in the neighborhood of Fort Niagara, both in Canada and in western New York. The Mohawk Indians went with them, and the Senecas and Cayugas were their allies. Numerous raids by Tory rangers and Indians were made from the Niagara region, on the border settlements within reach, the active leaders being Colonel John Butler, his son Walter, and the Mohawk chieftain, Thayendanegea, or Joseph Brant. There were fearful atrocities committed in some of these raids, most horribly in the valley of Wyoming, northeastern Pennsylvania, where Butler's rangers and a band of Senecas destroyed a Connecticut settlement in July, 1778. Hardly less infamous was the destruction of a settlement in Cherry Valley, New York, in November of the same year, by Tories and Indians under Walter Butler and Brant. Formerly Brant was held chiefly accountable for the savagery of this border warfare, but historical investigation has cleared him of the charge. He appears to have been more civilized than most of the white men with whom he served. He was not present at Wyoming, and his warriors at Cherry Valley are said to have had little or no hand in the butchery that was done. In excuse for the Butlers it is said that they could not restrain their Indian allies; but they gave opportunities to the savages which they knew would be improved.

The Butlers and Brant.

Wyoming and Cherry Valley massacres, July-November, 1778.

To check this barbaric warfare, General Sullivan, with 5000 men, was sent by Washington, in the summer of 1779, to ravage the country of the hostile tribes, and to drive the Tories from their stronghold on the Niagara. After one engagement near Elmira (formerly called

Newtown), where 1500 British troops, Tory rangers, and Indians were defeated with heavy slaughter, Sullivan's forces swept over the lands of the Cayugas and Senecas, in the lake region of central New York and in the fertile valley of the Genesee, destroying villages and corn-fields, with such effect that those tribes never recovered their strength. But Fort Niagara was not reached, and a dreadful harrying of the Mohawk valley and other border regions went on through 1780 and 1781.

General Sullivan.

128. Conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark. 1778–1779. A more important expedition into the wilderness of the west had been undertaken in the previous summer (1778) by a bold young surveyor, George Rogers Clark, commissioned by Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia. In the last few years many settlers had gone into the Ohio valley, James Harrod, Daniel Boone, and other pioneers having begun the actual occupation of Kentucky in 1774 and 1775. Colonel Hamilton, commanding at Detroit, was known to be inciting the Indian tribes of the region to a combined attack on these frontier settlements, and Clark offered to undertake the expulsion of the British from their whole western domain. Authorized by Governor Henry, he enlisted about 180 hardy riflemen, with whom he descended the Ohio to the Mississippi and passed up the great river, surprising and occupying the posts at Kaskaskia and Kahokia — the latter near the site of St. Louis. In the following winter, hearing that Hamilton was at Vincennes, on the Wabash, gathering a force of Indians and whites, he made a wonderful march across country and captured him there. Clark expected reinforcements to join him for an expedition against Detroit; but they were diverted to

Capture of Vincennes, February 24, 1779.

attack a body of Indians "on the war path," at Chickamauga. Even without the capture of Detroit, the conquests of Clark gave the States a claim to the northwest which had great importance when boundaries were settled at the close of the war.

129. Stony Point. — British Subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina. 1779–1780. After their retreat from Philadelphia in 1778, the British attempted nothing with their regular forces at the north, except some destructive raids along the coast, until the end of May, 1779, when Clinton captured a small fort which the Americans were building on the Hudson, at Stony Point. It was retaken three weeks afterward by General Wayne (called "Mad Anthony"), whose storming of Stony Point, by the use of the bayonet and without firing a shot, was one of the famous exploits of the war.

Storming of Stony Point, July 15, 1779.

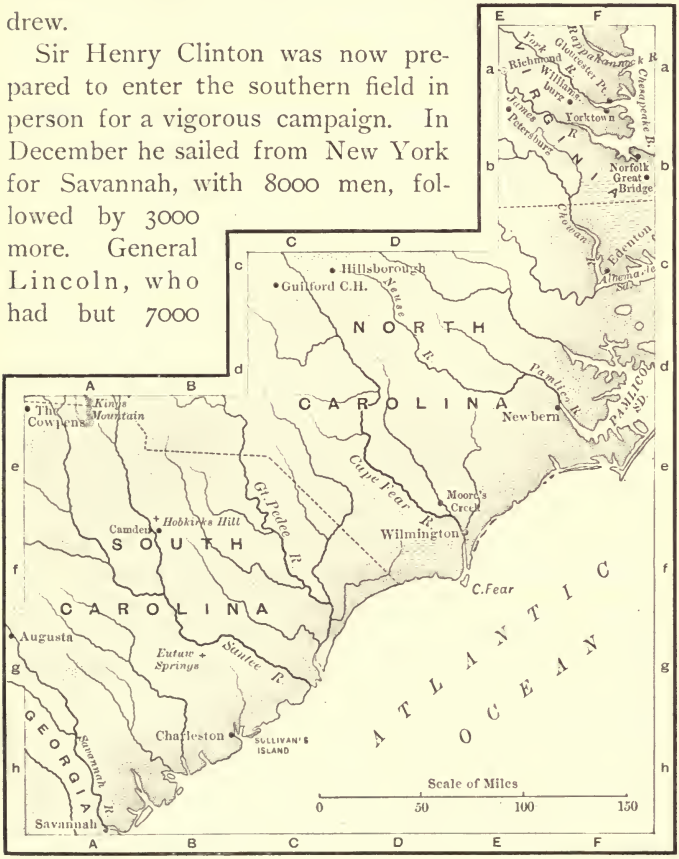
The military energies of the British were now being directed almost solely to the subjugation of the Southern States. At the end of December, 1778, Savannah was taken by a force from New York, and Georgia was practically subdued before spring. General Lincoln, who had won distinction in the campaign against Burgoyne, now commanded the Continental forces in the south; but they were too weak for effective use.

In September the French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, which had been in the West Indies since the fall of 1778, came back to the American coast, and a joint attack on Savannah was arranged between Lincoln and d'Estaing. For three weeks regular siege operations were carried on; then the French commander, fearing autumnal storms, insisted upon an assault (October 9, 1779), which failed disastrously, entailing a loss of 1000 men. Among the

Siege of Savannah. September-October, 1779.

killed was Count Pulaski, a distinguished Pole, who entered the American service in 1777. The siege was abandoned and the French fleet withdrew.

Sir Henry Clinton was now prepared to enter the southern field in person for a vigorous campaign. In December he sailed from New York for Savannah, with 8000 men, followed by 3000 more. General Lincoln, who had but 7000



THE SEAT OF WAR IN THE SOUTH.

troops, mistakenly allowed them to be shut up in Charleston, which Clinton invested early in the spring of 1780. By the 12th of May Lincoln's situation had become

hopeless, and the city, with the whole American army, was surrendered that day. Within a few weeks the British were in possession of the entire State, and Clinton, with most of his army, returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command in the south.

Surrender of Charleston, May 12, 1780.

130. Naval Warfare. — Exploits of Paul Jones. 1779. Naturally, in the early years of the war, the Americans could do little at sea. A feeble navy of cruisers was set afloat and a number of privateers received letters of marque; but the British were able to strike harder blows at American commerce than the Americans could strike in return. The latter gained something in naval strength from the French alliance, by obtaining ships and equipments and by having the free use of French ports. It was then that the Scottish sailor, Captain Paul Jones, commissioned by the Continental Congress, began to distinguish himself by the daring and success of his operations on the British coasts. In 1779 he was put in command of a small squadron which Franklin had fitted out in France. His flagship was an old vessel built for the India trade, slightly altered and re-named the Bon Homme Richard. On the 23d of September Jones encountered two British frigates, convoying a large fleet of merchant ships. With the Bon Homme Richard he attacked the larger of the two, the Serapis, while one of his consorts fought the other. The battle which then took place between the two principal ships was one of the most desperate ever fought. Before it ended the two vessels were lashed together, with the muzzles of their guns almost touching each other's sides; both were on fire, and more than half the crew of each were helplessly wounded or dead. Sheer

The Bon Homme Richard and Serapis, September, 23, 1779.

exhaustion forced the Serapis to surrender at last. The Bon Homme Richard was in a sinking state, and went down the next morning, soon after the survivors of her crew had been transferred to the captured ship. By his daring operations Paul Jones gave a serious check to British trade.

131. Deplorable State of South Carolina. — Disastrous Campaign of Gates. May–August, 1780. After the surrender of Charleston, it fell to the lot of South Carolina to suffer the bitterest experience that was undergone by any State. Clinton and his successor, Cornwallis, pursued a policy which outlawed a large part of the people, who would not swear allegiance and give active support to King George. Such patriots were hunted by British troops and Tory partisans, their property destroyed or confiscated, their families and friends cruelly abused. No general combination among them could be formed, and they were gathered in small bands, under leaders of remarkable ability and skill, carrying on a harassing warfare, of the partisan or guerrilla kind. The exploits and adventures of some of those bands, under Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, James Williams, Andrew Pickens, and other famous captains, furnish many romantic tales to the history of the time. Colonel Tarleton, who was notorious for brutality, and Major Ferguson were the commanders most active against them on the British side.

Partisan warfare.

It was Washington's wish that General Greene, his most capable lieutenant, should succeed Lincoln in the southern command; but Congress, with unpardonable perversity, took the selection from him and appointed its unworthy favorite, Gates. From his own dwindled forces in the north the commander-in-chief had sent some 2000 well-tried troops to the Carolinas, under Baron De Kalb.

Gates reached them, at Hillsborough, North Carolina, in July, and was joined there by a few militia, forming altogether a little army of about 3000 men. With this he rushed forward into South Carolina, and wrecked his army utterly in a blundering battle at Camden (August 16, 1780), from the field of which he was one of a small number who escaped. The brave De Kalb fought hopelessly until he had received mortal wounds.

Battle of Camden August 16, 1780.

132. Discouraging circumstances of the Country. 1780. This ended the accidental reputation of Gates. Even Congress gave him up, and Washington was permitted, a few weeks later, to put Greene in his place. But the dreadful defeat at Camden had been a dangerous blow to the American cause. It came when the circumstances of the country were in their most discouraging state. The paper money poured out by Congress, based on nothing but a promise, and even the promise made by no substantial authority, had lost all worth. Washington had to levy forced contributions on the surrounding country to feed his men. Practically they had no pay, and little prospect of any to come. Desertions were increasing and new recruits were hard to obtain.

Continental currency.

In July there was a momentary gleam of cheer, caused by the arrival of 6000 French troops, under Count de Rochambeau, sent as the result of a visit made by Lafayette to France. More were to follow, but a British fleet blockaded them in Brest, and they never sailed. Thus far the French alliance had been sorely disappointing; some increased aid in loans and helpful supplies, and some diversion of English forces to other fields of war, had been its only fruit; but now there was hope that Washington would be enabled to strike

Rochambeau's army.

important blows. It was a hope that soon sank. The French fleet that brought Rochambeau's army to Newport was immediately blockaded by a British squadron in Narragansett Bay, and the French troops were kept near at hand to support it against expected attack. A whole year was yet to pass before Washington would be able to make use of this reinforcement from France.

133. Attempted Treason of Benedict Arnold. September, 1780. And now came the appalling disclosure of a plot of treason in the army, from which the country had made but a hairbreadth escape. The traitor was Benedict Arnold, whose record as a soldier had been unsurpassed in brilliancy by any made since the war began. In the expedition to Canada, in defending Lake Champlain against Sir Guy Carleton, and in the battles which accomplished the defeat and capture of Burgoyne, his services had entitled him to a promotion which politicians in Congress gave to less deserving men. He resented this treatment, and later circumstances, arising while he held command at Philadelphia (June, 1778–March, 1779), increased his feeling. At length, in his bitterness, he projected a great act of treason, to avenge what he deemed to be his wrongs. His first step was to ask for and obtain the command at West Point, on the Hudson River, which had been fortified strongly and was much the most important American post. To lose it was to lose the river, and probably to ruin the American cause. In secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, Arnold planned to betray this citadel of the Hudson to the enemy. On the 22d of September he arranged the last details of the plan with Major André, a young officer of Clinton's staff, who ventured to meet him inside of the American lines. As the unfortunate

Cause of Arnold's treason.

West Point.

Major André.

André returned from that meeting, he was caught, and papers found on his person disclosed the plot. Arnold got news of André's capture in time to escape and make his way to New York, where he received a British commission, and did service against his own countrymen in barbarous raids during the remainder of the war. It was André, the young British officer, who had to pay the penalty for the traitor's crime, since stern military law required his execution as a spy.

134. The Southwestern Mountaineers to the Rescue. October, 1780. The shock of the discovery of Arnold's treason was the last painful experience of a gloomy year. It was followed soon by a great uplifting change in the situation at the south, coming from an unlooked-for source. After his overwhelming victory at Camden, Cornwallis expected to subjugate North Carolina with ease, and moved his main army into that State. Before doing so he sent his partisan commander, Ferguson, into the hill region on the border of the two Carolinas, to enlist Tory recruits and to hunt down the armed Whigs. In carrying out his mission Ferguson pushed so far into the western wilderness that he stirred up those people of the mountains, — the Scotch-Irish and Huguenot frontiersmen of western North Carolina, western Virginia, and eastern Tennessee, — who had been busy fighting and watching their Indian neighbors, and had taken no part hitherto in the war on its eastern side. These formidable riflemen now swarmed out of their mountain settlements, put Ferguson to flight, and pursued and surrounded him on a rocky ridge called King's Mountain, which he thought he could hold, with his 1100 men, against any possible attack. But the irresistible mountaineers stormed the height; Ferguson and 400 or more of his followers

Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780.

were killed and wounded; the remainder surrendered; the Tories of the "up-country" were crushed.

135. Greene's Campaign in the Carolinas. 1780–1781. The southern situation was greatly changed by this unexpected event. Cornwallis's plans were frustrated and he fell back. Both British and American troops were sent southward from the northern commands, and early in December Greene superseded Gates. He had several fine officers to assist him, including Daniel Morgan and Henry Lee, the latter a splendid cavalry officer, father of the more famous Robert E. Lee. Morgan, sent westward with 900 men, opened the new campaign by nearly destroying a more than equal force under Tarleton, in a remarkably managed battle, fought at a place called the Cowpens, on the 17th of January, 1781. Cornwallis then moved in pursuit of Morgan, and was led nearly to the Virginia line, in a baffled effort to keep Morgan's forces from being reunited with Greene's. Greene gave him battle at Guilford Court House (March 15), and failed to drive him from his ground, but so crippled him that he retreated to Wilmington three days afterward, to be within reach of the British fleet. Greene then marched straight into South Carolina, while Cornwallis went off to Virginia with the main body of his troops, but left forces in South Carolina as strong as Greene's. Two considerable battles were fought during the next six months, at Hobkirk's Hill, April 25, and at Eutaw Springs, September 8. The Americans were defeated in the first, and could not claim a victory in the second; but they gained all the fruits of success. At the end of their campaign the British held no ground in South Carolina save the city of Charleston, and the state government was restored. Military critics

Battle of the Cowpens, January 17, 1781.

Battle of Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781.

have greatly praised the generalship by which Greene accomplished these results.

136. The Beginning of the End. — Yorktown. May–October, 1781. Meanwhile, in Virginia, the grand crisis of the war was drawing near, — the master-stroke was being prepared. When Cornwallis, quitting the Carolinas, brought his main command to Petersburg, Virginia, joining a considerable body of troops there, he was only opposed by a little army of about 3000, mostly militia, under Lafayette. But Steuben was in the State, rapidly raising and organizing an increased force. Lafayette retreated, and Cornwallis pursued him nearly to the Rapidan, but, after some overrunning of the country, turned back to the seaboard, finally placing his army at Yorktown (August, 1781), on the peninsula between the York River and the James. This brought him into easy communication with Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, and the position was one of safety so long as British fleets controlled the sea. It happened, however, that a French fleet, stronger than the British naval force in American waters, was coming from the West Indies to Chesapeake Bay at just this time. Its coming had been arranged for with the French admiral, Count de Grasse, by Washington and Rochambeau, some time before. Primarily, they had planned to have its help in a combined attack on New York; but when Washington learned of Cornwallis's movements, he saw his opportunity for taking the army of that general in a trap. Keeping Sir Henry Clinton deceived by movements which seemed to threaten New York, he suddenly transferred 2000 of his own troops and 4000 of Rochambeau's, with great secrecy and celerity, from the Hudson to the James. They were marched to the head of Chesapeake Bay and conveyed thence by shipping to

The coming of the French fleet.

the peninsula above Yorktown, where Lafayette, who had followed Cornwallis, with an increased force, was already entrenched. Already, too, the French fleet was in possession of the bay, a British squadron had been driven off, and 3000 French soldiers from the West Indies had been landed to strengthen Lafayette. The trap was effectually sprung, and the whole scheme had been carried out so skilfully that the British commanders suspected nothing of what was on foot until too late to interfere.

Washington reached Lafayette's headquarters on the 14th of September; his forces from the north arrived between the 18th and the 26th, and siege operations were begun. Cornwallis held out until the 17th of October, when the hopelessness of his situation was confessed by raising the white flag. On the 19th he gave up his sword, and his men, 7247 soldiers and 840 seamen, laid down their arms, as prisoners of war.

Cornwallis's surrender, October 19, 1781.

137. Peace. In reality that surrender was the ending of the War of Independence, though partisan hostilities were kept up, especially in the south, and though British and American armies confronted each other for many months more, while Charleston and New York were still in the enemy's hands. King George's obstinacy postponed for a few months, but it could not prevent, the beginning of steps toward an arrangement of peace. Parliament forced it on. Lord North and his ministry were driven to resign on the 20th of March, 1782, and King George was compelled to accept Lord Rockingham for prime minister, with a Whig cabinet, made up mostly of statesmen who had steadily opposed the American war and the measures that brought it about. An agent, Mr. Oswald,

Resignation of Lord North, March 20, 1782.

sent to Paris by one of the new ministers, Lord Shelburne, conferred at first with Franklin alone. This led to more formal negotiations, in which John Jay, John Adams, and Henry Laurens were associated with Dr. Franklin as commissioners empowered by Congress to represent the United States. At the same time Lord Shelburne, who became prime minister in July, opened peace negotiations with France and Spain. In the course of the subsequent parleyings the American commissioners found reason to believe that Vergennes, the French minister, was more than willing to weaken the future growth of the United States by making the Alleghanies their western boundary, and that Spain had the same end in view. That led them to cease counselling with Vergennes, and their further negotiations with the British ministers were carried on in a private way, until agreements were reached and the articles of a treaty signed provisionally on the 30th of November, 1782. It was not to have effect until the settlement of peace between Great Britain and France. When that came to pass, the same treaty, unchanged, was signed on the 3d of September, 1783, and was ratified on both sides.

Peace negotiations at Paris.

Treaty, November 30, 1782, and September 3, 1783.

138. Terms of the Treaty of Peace. The United States secured western territory to the Mississippi, and from the Floridas to the Great Lakes; but the eastern and western extremities of the northern boundary line were so imperfectly described in the treaty that disputes about them lasted for many years. In the important matter of fisheries, the Americans were given equal rights with British fishermen to take fish on all the British-American coasts. Concerning the American loyalists or Tories, who had sided with the mother country in the conflict, a question of great

Boundaries and fisheries.

embarrassment arose. Feeling against them was so bitterly unforgiving in many States that they had been and were being driven into exile, with confiscation of their property, wherever they lost the protection of the British arms. It was not only cruel treatment, but unwise, as we look at it now. It is certain that the loyalists mistook what was right and best, in opposing separation from the British Empire; but it is equally certain that a large number of them did so conscientiously, and would have accepted the result of the war in good faith, becoming citizens as loyal to the new republic as they had been loyal to the king. Many of them were persons of character, of culture, of capability, of importance in their occupations and their means, and the country suffered a serious loss when it drove them out. But many others of the Tory faction, especially in New York and the Carolinas, had been malignantly and barbarously active in the war, and had excited a hatred that extended to the whole loyalist class. Great Britain felt bound to provide in the treaty for the protection of these people, its partisans; but the feeble government of the United States, as then constituted, could only promise to recommend to the several States that they restore confiscated property and allow exiled loyalists to return to their homes. It did so, and fulfilled the promise, but with no effect. It was equally powerless in another matter which the treaty touched, relating to the payment of debts that were due to British creditors when the war broke out. The obligations of the treaty were totally disregarded in most of the States, and their action provoked the British government to keep possession of several forts in the west for many years.

Treatment of American loyalists.

Debts to British creditors.

It has been estimated that the loyalists who left the

United States during or immediately after the War of Independence numbered no less than 100,000. From New York alone 12,000 went a short time before the British evacuation of the city, in 1783. For the most part they found homes in Nova Scotia and Canada, where they received grants of land, and in the Bahamas, which attracted many from the south.

The exiled loyalists.

139. Dissolving the Continental Army. — Retirement of Washington. 1781–1783. Until the terms of peace between Great Britain and France were agreed upon, in January, 1783, and until news of that agreement reached America, late in March, the American and British forces were both kept under arms. A cessation of hostilities was then proclaimed on both sides. Washington communicated the proclamation of Congress to the army on the 19th of April, exactly eight years from that day at Lexington when the war began. Most of the soldiers were then permitted to return to their homes.

In the last year of its service there had been increasing disaffection in the army, and nothing but the potent influence of Washington had prevented some violent outbreak. The pay of the soldiers was far in arrears, and they feared that, if disbanded, no attempt would be made to meet their claims. To keep his experienced officers, Washington had persuaded Congress to promise half-pay for life to those who served until the end of the war; but there seemed to be less and less prospect that Congress would be able to make its promise good. Mean spirits were ready to work upon every doubt and every fear. Gates was again a leader among these, and one of his staff, Major Armstrong, wrote an inflammatory address which was circulated in

Discontent of the army.

the camp at Newburgh (March 11, 1783), calling for a general meeting of the army to discuss its wrongs. Washington foiled the dangerous design by making the meeting an official one and addressing it himself, in terms which shamed the malcontents. He then induced Congress to commute the promised half-pay for life into a sum equal to full pay for five years, and to offer it immediately in certificates bearing interest at six per cent. The commutation, though much denounced in the country, proved generally acceptable to the officers, and mutinous disaffection was checked. Enough remained, however, to be dangerous still, as appeared three months later, when an outbreak of eighty soldiers in Pennsylvania drove Congress from Philadelphia to Princeton in fright.

The Newburgh address, March, 1783.

These and some prior demonstrations among the soldiers gave rise to much distrust of the army, as the time for its dissolution drew near. The feeling was increased when, in the spring of 1783, a secret society, or brotherhood, called the Order of the Cincinnati,[1] was formed among the officers of the army and navy, to be perpetuated by their sons, for the innocent purpose of keeping alive the friendships and associations of their service in a common cause. Some sinister design in the organization was suspected, especially that of seeking to establish an hereditary aristocracy; and the order was so fiercely denounced that the hereditary feature of its constitution was given up by many state societies, but not by all. It has an existence still in several States.

The Cincinnati.

New York remained in the possession of the British

[1] So named to suggest the likeness of its members to Cincinnatus, the Roman, who left his plough to command the army of his country, and returned to it when the campaign was closed.

until the 25th of November, when the last of their troops sailed away. On the 4th of December Washington took leave of his officers and departed for his home at Mount Vernon, receiving proofs at every stage of his journey that the immeasurable greatness of his service to the country was well understood. At Annapolis, where Congress was then sitting, he resigned his commission and asked leave to retire to private life. He submitted a statement of moneys that he had expended from his private fortune during the war, amounting to $64,315, for which he desired reimbursement; but of pay for his personal services he would take none. On Christmas eve he reached the home which he had seen but once in eight years.

British evacuation of New York, November 25, 1783.

Washington returns to private life.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

107. Lexington and Concord. — "The Shot heard round the World."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Gage's attempt to seize Adams and Hancock at Lexington and destroy stores at Concord. 2. Paul Revere's ride. 3. The first bloodshed of the war on Lexington Green. 4. Fighting at Concord and British retreat. 5. The New England rising. — Gage beleaguered in Boston. 6. Character of the besieging army. Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, ch. ii.; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 120–126; Bancroft, iv. 152–166; Hosmer, *Adams*, 329–331; Sloane, 183–187.

108. Effect of the News.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Effect of the news in the middle colonies. 2. Uprising in Virginia and the Carolinas. Bancroft, iv. 176–181; Hildreth, iii. 69–74; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 415–418; Tyler, *Henry*, ch. x.; McCrady, ii. ch. xli.

109. Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Connecticut origination and Vermont undertaking of the expedition. 2. What it gave to the patriots. Robinson, ch. vii.; Hall, ch. vi.–vii.; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 129–132; Hildreth, iii. 74–76; Bancroft, iv. 182–183.

110. Second Continental Congress. — Appointment of Washington to Chief Military Command.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Leading members of the Congress. 2. Declaration of the causes of armed resistance, and petition to the king (text in MacDonald, i. 374–385). Bancroft, iv. 190–192, 199–200; Morse, *Adams*, 87–93.

3. Adoption of the forces in arms as a "Continental Army." 4. Appointment of Washington to chief command. 5. His unique greatness. 6. Other military appointments. Washington, ii. 476–493; Adams, ii. 415–418; Lecky, iii. 465–472; Bancroft, iv. 204–213; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, 133–136; Morse, *Adams*, 93–100; Lodge, *Washington*, i. 131–133; Sloane, 195–199.

7. Failure of Congress to assume needed powers. Holst, *Const. Law*, 6–12; Johnston, *United States*, 56–57; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 421–428.

RESEARCH. — Foreign estimates of Washington. Guizot, *Essay;* F. Harrison, *Washington*, 3–27; E. A. Freeman, 62–103.

111. Bunker Hill.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Fortification of Breed's Hill. 2. Unsuccessful assaults by the British troops. 3. Reasons for their final success. 4. Why the American cause suffered no effect of defeat. Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, ch. iv.–vii.; Carrington, *Battles*, ch. xv.–xvii.; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 136–146; Bancroft, iv. 213–231; Sloane, 199–202.

112. Washington's Task. — Expeditions to Canada.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. State of the American army besieging Boston. 2. Washington's difficulties, and the primary cause of them. Washington, iii. 8–70, 245–249; Carrington, *Washington*, ch. v.; Fiske, *Am.*

Rev., i. 147–157; Bancroft, iv. 239–243, 247–250; Lecky, iii. 482–488; Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, ch. viii.–xi.; *O. S. Leaf.*, 47; Lodge, *Washington*, i. 133–148.

3. The expeditions to Canada. Carrington, *Battles*, xx., xxi.; Robinson, ch. viii.; Hall, ch. x.–xiii.; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 165–169; Bancroft, iv. 291–308; Washington, iii. 121–127.

113. Ripening of the Public Mind for Independence.

Topics and References.

1. King George's proclamation of rebellion. 2. His hiring of Hessians and the effect in America. E. J. Lowell, ch. i.–v.; Bancroft, iv. 269–272, 276–279, 347–358; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 172, 173.

3. Movements in Congress toward declared independence: Advice to colonies. — Correspondence with foreign powers. 4. Act of Parliament against American commerce. 5. Paine's pamphlet entitled "Common Sense." Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 445–489; Lecky, iii. 494–498; Winsor, *America*, vi. ch. iii.; Bancroft, iv. 310–316, 359–371; Sloane, 211–214; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 500–504.

Research. — Life and character of Thomas Paine. Sedgwick, *Paine;* Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i.

114. Boston given up by the British.

Topics and References.

1. Washington's difficulties in the siege. 2. How he forced the British out. Washington, iii. 313, 444–470, 475–481: Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, ch. xii.; Carrington, *Washington*, ch. viii.; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 169–172; Bancroft, iv. 322–331; Lodge, *Washington*, i. 148–151; *O. S. Leaf.*, 86.

115. War in North Carolina. — Demands for a Declaration of Independence.

Topics and References.

1. Battle of Moore's Creek with Tory Scotch Highlanders. 2. Frustrated British plans. 3. Action in the Carolinas and Georgia favoring independence. 4. Action in other colonies. — Virginia Declaration of Rights (text in Larned, *Ready Ref.*, *Virginia*). Bancroft, iv. 382–397, 412–434; Hildreth, iii. 118–120, 124–127, 131–132; Frothingham, *Rise of the Rep.*, 499–530; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 175–190; MacLean, ch. v.

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117. British Repulse at Charleston.

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1. Colonel Moultrie's fort. 2. His repulse of the British attack. Carrington, *Battles*, ch. xxviii.; McCrady, iii. ch. vii.; Bancroft, iv. 397–411; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 198–200.

118. Battle of Long Island. — Retreat of Washington from New York and through New Jersey.

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1. British capture of New York and Washington's retreat. 2. Invasion from the north checked by Arnold. 3. Criticism of Washington and intrigues against him. 4. Washington's retreat through New Jersey. 5. The "times that try men's souls." Washington, iv. 362–376, v. 1–126; Carrington, *Washington*, ch. ix.–xiii., and *Battles*, ch. xxix.–xxxvii.; Winsor, *America*, vi. 275–293; G. W. Greene, *Greene*, ii. 152–295; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 198–229, and *Essays*, 78–83; Bancroft, v. 24–87; Hildreth, iii. ch. xxxiv.; Lecky, iv. 1–25; Lodge, *Washington*, i. 154–174; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 559–562; Sloane, 238–250.

119. The Situation changed. — Washington turning upon his Pursuers.

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120. Burgoyne's Invasion. — Capture of his Army. — Undeserved Credit to General Gates.

Topics and References.

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9. Unmerited credit to General Gates and its mischievous effects. Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, i. 296–297; Hildreth, iii. 215.

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122. Intrigues for Gates against Washington. — The Conway Cabal.

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123. The Winter at Valley Forge. — State of the Country.

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4. The "Continental currency." — Financial state of the country. Bolles, i. ch. iii., and ix.–xiii.; Sumner, *The Financier*, ch. iv., and *Am. Currency*, 43–50.

5. Lafayette, Steuben, Hamilton. Tuckerman, ch. i. 14–26; Kapp, ch. v.; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 14–26; Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, ii. 50–55; Hart, *Contemp's*, ii. 485–488; *O. S. Leaf.*, 97–98.

124. Treaty of Alliance with France. — Peace Overtures from England.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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125. British Evacuation of Philadelphia. — Battle of Monmouth. — Treachery of Charles Lee.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Circumstances leading to the battle at Monmouth. 2. Treachery of Lee while Howe's prisoner. — His conduct at Monmouth.

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126. Washington again guarding the Hudson.

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1. Washington's main task in the war. 2. Unsuccessful coöperation with French fleet and troops. Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, ii. 72–80; Lodge, *Washington*, i. 234–249; Bancroft, v. 284–285.

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129. Stony Point. — British Subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina.

Topics and References.

1. Loss and recovery of Stony Point. 2. British efforts concentrated on the south. 3. Failure of a second coöperative undertaking of American and French forces. 4. Surrender of Ameri-

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130. Naval Warfare. — Exploits of Paul Jones.

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131. Deplorable State of South Carolina. — Disastrous Campaign of Gates.

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132. Discouraging Circumstances of the Country.

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1. Seriousness of the Camden disaster. 2. Worthlessness of "Continental currency." 3. State of the army. 4. Arrival of Rochambeau and a French army. — Disappointed hopes from them. Fiske, *Am. Rev.*, ii. 196–205; Hart, *Formation*, 89–92, and *Contemp's*, ii. 601–603; Bancroft, v. 439–450; Lecky, iv. 135–143; Lodge, *Washington*, i. 264–272; Sloane, 322–324, 327–328; Washington, viii. 507.

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138. Terms of the Treaty of Peace.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. 1781–1789.

140. The "Critical Period." 1781–1788. Neither prosperity nor any hopeful prospect came to the country with the advent of peace. On the contrary, the years following were a time which Dr. Fiske has described correctly as being "the critical period of American history." It was made critical by the want of a general government having power to do in and for the States as a whole what they could not do by separate action each for itself. They had gone through the war, very nearly to its ending, with no more organization of a general government than that with which they began it in 1775. Until 1781 the Continental Congress had continued to act on its own discretion alone, as to what it might do or might not, and the States had paid less and less respect to its orders, its advice, or its appeals. It had sought from the beginning a more definite organization of federal government; but five years were consumed in the movement to that end. On the 11th of June, 1776, the same day on which a committee was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, another committee was directed "to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these colonies;" but it was not till the middle of November, 1777, that Articles of Confederation were agreed upon in Congress and recommended to the States. Eleven States gave

assent to them within the next year. Delaware delayed ratification until February, 1779, and Maryland was not persuaded to accept the Articles until February, 1781. Not till then was there a constitutional confederation of the United States.

Adoption of Articles of Confederation, March, 1781.

141. Cession of Western Territory by the States claiming it. 1780–1781.[1] The obstructive attitude of Maryland was justified by sound reasons, and it forced a result of great importance to the future of the American nation. That result was the cession to the United States of the wide expanse of unoccupied western territory, to which seven of the thirteen States laid more or less conflicting claims. It will be remembered that Virginia, by virtue of her charter of 1609 (see sect. **3**), strengthened by Clark's conquests in 1778–79 (see sect. **128**), claimed not only the Kentucky district, lying due west of her old inhabited area, but also the whole northwestern region now covered by the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. New York disputed that claim, so far as concerned the whole region subjugated by the Six Nations of the Iroquois. Their sovereignty, it was maintained, had passed to the British crown, and from the crown to the State of New York. Both those claims were disputed in part by Massachusetts and Connecticut, whose ancient charters gave them zones of territory from sea to sea. They could not deny that the zones were broken into by the Dutch occupation of New Netherland, by the English conquest from the Dutch, and by the grant to the Duke of York, nor deny that territory beyond the Mississippi had been given up to Spain ; but they claimed all that was not thus taken out. As against the grant to

Claims of Virginia and New York.

Claims of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

[1] See Map VIII.

William Penn, the Connecticut claim was maintained with obstinacy for many years, and asserted in practice by a settlement of emigrants from Connecticut in the Wyoming region of northern Pennsylvania, where they suffered the dreadful massacre of 1778 (see sect. **127**). In the south, similar claims were put forth by the Carolinas and Georgia, founded on similar royal grants.

Claims of the Carolinas and Georgia.

Seven States were thus claiming the whole unoccupied territory in the west. The six States which had no such claims contended reasonably that the wilderness in question should be ceded to the proposed Confederation and become a national domain, until peopled for new States. Except Maryland, however, all yielded to the need of a more definite general government and ratified the Articles of Confederation without waiting for any of the demanded cessions to be made. Maryland resisted until New York had authorized its delegates in Congress to "restrict its boundaries in the western parts by such line or lines . . . as they shall deem expedient;" until Connecticut had offered a partial cession of lands, though not of jurisdiction; and until Virginia had signified her willingness, on certain conditions, to convey her title to all lands northwest of the Ohio River. The New York deed of cession was executed in February, 1781; the Virginia cession was made complete in 1784; Massachusetts ceded her claims in 1785; Connecticut compromised hers in 1786, securing a tract in northern Ohio, long known as the Connecticut or Western Reserve, and giving up the rest. The cession of South Carolina was executed in 1787, that of North Carolina in 1790, and that of Georgia not until 1802.

Demands of Maryland.

Cessions, 1781-1802.

142. Weakness of the Confederation. 1781–1789.

Hard and long as it had been striven for, the adoption of the Articles of Confederation made little change in the structure or the working of government. By their own declaration, the Articles established no more than "a firm league of friendship" between the States. They were framed to give merely a legal form to the loose alliance of the past six years, few people being yet prepared to venture more. Their long difficulties with the British government had left the Americans with an almost unreasoning fear of any authority in government superior to that which they watched and controlled near at hand, in their several States. The whole tendency of their political situation had been to give their State governments the first place in all their political habits of thought. Their Confederation of "the United States of America" was shaped accordingly, with all the energy of government distributed among its parts, and almost nothing left at the centre, for its action as a whole. It was the States that must levy and collect all taxes and imposts; the States that must raise all military forces, and clothe, arm, equip, and organize them in regiments, with officers, up to colonel, of their own appointment; the States that must (if they saw fit) provide the means and the mandates for almost everything that the Congress of the Confederation might undertake to do. Congress had no revenue at its own command. It stretched no arm of authority to any citizen, through any judge or court-officer of its own, to make itself felt and respected as the real government of a real nation. It had the sole right to declare war, but was dependent on State legislatures for money, men, and arms. It had the sole right to make treaties with foreign powers, but was dependent on State legislatures

All power in the States.

Powerlessness of Congress.

for an enforcement of the obligations of such treaties when made. It was authorized to contract public debts, but was dependent on State legislatures for means to pay even the interest on what it owed. It was made the tribunal of "last resort" in all disputes between the States, but had no power whatever to enforce its decrees.

Besides this utter want of efficient powers in the Congress of the Confederation, there were fatal weaknesses in its make-up and its modes of action. Each State might send to it not less than two nor more than seven delegates, who cast, however, but one vote for their State. These delegates were paid by the States, and niggardliness reduced the number sent quite generally to two; sometimes none were sent. When a majority of the delegates of a State agreed on a question in Congress, they could cast its vote; when they disagreed evenly and were tied, its vote was lost. Yet no measure of importance could be adopted without the vote of nine States. How small an opposition might defeat any measure can readily be seen. And this feeble and fettered body was not merely the *legislature* of a general government, but was in itself the whole government, — a government with no executive hand or head, and no judicial arm. We cannot wonder that it lost prestige and respect; that service in it lost attraction for able and ambitious men; that its meetings were neglected, even when grave matters were in hand. We cannot wonder that the United States were less like one nation when the war ended than when it began, and grew less in that likeness so long as the Articles of Confederation were in force.

Legislation in Congress.

Loss of prestige.

143. Commercial Depression. Thus paralyzed in its

general government, it was impossible for the country to recover prosperity when it recovered peace. The main causes of depression in it were causes which nothing but an efficient national government could remove. It had not suffered a ruinous destruction of wealth or population in the war; but the foreign commerce of the country had been broken up, and nothing could restore it but a responsible government, capable of making commercial treaties with foreign nations, capable of fulfilling the terms of such treaties when made, and capable of regulating the conduct of trade between the States. While they remained under British law the Americans had had free and large dealing with Great Britain and her other colonies, but were restricted in commerce with the remainder of the world. Now they had lost the advantages of the British connection, and found no willingness in other nations, except France, Sweden, and the Netherlands, to arrange commercial treaties with them, because the observance of such treaties by the States could not be guaranteed.

Loss of foreign trade.

The internal commerce of the country was injured even more by the existing condition of things. Each State possessed the right to a protective tariff and a navigation act of its own, and could tax the passing of ships and products from other States across its boundary lines. Some fierce outbreaks of petty commercial warfare were the early result, especially between New York and its neighbors on both sides.

Commercial warfare between the States.

144. Ruinous effects of irredeemable paper money. But the ruin of trade by these conditions was hardly so great a cause of suffering as the general economic breakdown which the flood of irredeemable paper money,

issued by Congress and the States, had brought about. When the measurement of values is lost, as it is by the use of such fictitious money, a few shrewdly speculative people are sure to make themselves rich at the expense of the community at large. The inevitable outcome, soon or late, is debt and poverty for the mass; and the debt and poverty in the United States, after the "Continental currency" of the war time had run its course to worthlessness, were very great. Debt in those days was treated worse than we now treat crime. Debtors, no matter how innocent of dishonesty, were often imprisoned hopelessly for years; and most of the prisons of the time were in a horrible state. The heartlessness of creditors was one of the provoking causes of a dangerous outbreak of rebellion that occurred in Massachusetts in 1786. Shays's Rebellion — so named from its principal leader — was an attempt to stop proceedings against delinquent debtors, by breaking up the sittings of the courts. Another object of the insurgents was to force a new issue of fictitious money in the form of irredeemable notes. They would not believe that such so-called money had been the source of their troubles. They thought it had been made worthless by conspiracies against it, and that sharp laws compelling everybody to take it were all that could be needed to keep it good. This delusion was so common that it carried the elections of 1786 in seven States, and started them again upon fatuous experiments in making money with the printing-press.

Harsh treatment of debtors.

Shays's Rebellion, 1786.

Paper money.

Of real money, in valuable coin, or bank promises payable in coin, the country had almost none. It had no coinage of its own, though Congress, in 1785, approved and adopted a plan of coinage devised mainly by

Gouverneur Morris, assistant to Robert Morris in the superintendency of finance. From that plan, to which Jefferson contributed some features, came the admirable system of decimal coins, based on the Spanish dollar, which this country has enjoyed, with little change, ever since it established a mint. But the mint was not created and coining undertaken until after the Congress of the Confederation passed away and a new national government took its place.

Decimal coinage.

145. Dread of a Strong General Government. — Impending Dissolution of the Union. 1786. Of the instructed and thoughtful people of the States there was doubtless a large majority at all times who could see clearly that present happiness and a hopeful future for the country could never be secured without a more national union of its parts. There were some pure patriots of shrewd brain who could not see it so, and Samuel Adams was one. Their dread of a strong government was greater than their dread of anything else, and they would not accept it as a remedy for any public ill. The popular majority was with them for years, against Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and most of the great leaders of the time. Three attempts to amend the worst features of the Articles of Confederation were made and failed, no amendment being possible without the concurrence of every State.

Attitude of Samuel Adams and others.

By 1786 an actual dissolution of the "league of friendship" appeared to have begun. Rhode Island recalled her delegates from Congress, and would send no more. New Jersey refused flatly to pay any part of her quota of revenue needed for the general government, and all the States together paid in that year but one fifth of the $2,000,000 required.

Dissolution begun.

Several States were raising troops in violation of the Articles of Confederation; in New England there was talk of secession if an offer from Spain, of a treaty of commerce in exchange for a surrender of all claims to the navigation of the Mississippi River below the Yazoo, should be refused; while the settlers in Kentucky were threatening to put themselves under British protection if any such bargain were made. The ultimate crisis of the "critical period" had been reached; and yet there was no visible chance of success for any open and direct proposition to strengthen the constitution of government for the dissolving Union of the States. But happy circumstances arising in that most anxious year brought about the needed action in an indirect way.

146. The Circumstances which led to a Constitutional Convention. 1785–1787. The circumstances which led to the framing of a constitution of really national government for the United States had their beginning in a conference at Mount Vernon, between commissioners from Virginia and Maryland, for the purpose of jointly regulating and extending the navigation of the Potomac River. The influence of Washington, Madison, and Jefferson brought that conference about, and it was probably the same influence which pushed further in the same direction, first to bring Delaware and Pennsylvania into the discussion of a common commercial system, and, finally, to invite a convention of commissioners from all the States to consider the needs of their trade. A resolution to that end, drawn by Madison, was adopted by the legislature of Virginia in January, 1786, and attempts were made to assemble the proposed convention at Annapolis on the 11th of the following September.

Conference at Mount Vernon.

At the appointed time only five States had commissioners in attendance, and these thought it useless to take up the work for which they were convened. They adopted, however, an address to the country, prepared by Hamilton, urging the appointment of a new body of commissioners from all the States, to meet at Philadelphia in the coming May, not merely to consider the commercial situation, but to "devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." For some time there seemed to be no probability that more would come from this endeavor than came from the Annapolis meeting; but as signs of anarchy thickened, people were driven to regard it with a desperate hope. Virginia gave a great lift to that hope in December, when Washington consented to be one of seven commissioners to the proposed convention from that State, and Patrick Henry,[1] Madison, Randolph, and Mason were named with him in the notable list. New Jersey acted next, and then Pennsylvania appointed a famous delegation, including Franklin (home from France in 1785, when Jefferson went out to take his place), Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, Gouverneur Morris, who devised our decimal coinage, and James Wilson, a profoundly able jurist, who took a notable part in the subsequent work. A convention bringing such men together could hardly occur without some important result; and Congress was moved by public opinion to make it an authorized body, which was done on the 1st

Annapolis Convention, September, 1786.

The Virginia and Pennsylvania delegations.

[1] Patrick Henry opposed the movement, however, and refused the appointment.

of February, 1787. By that time six States had named delegates, and their example was followed presently by six more. Rhode Island, alone, would send none.

147. The Work of the Convention. May–September, 1787. The great Convention began its sessions at Philadelphia on the 25th of May, 1787. Besides those named already, the men of most distinction in its membership were Hamilton (commissioned from New York, but tied up with two opposing associates), John Rutledge, from South Carolina, and John Dickinson, who had changed his residence to Delaware. The general standard of ability and character was very high. Washington was chosen president of the Convention, and his wonderful influence ranks first among all the causes of success in its work. To prevent public wrangling over troublesome questions while its own discussions were going on, the Convention sat with closed doors, and allowed no report of its proceedings to be published; nor was anything known of its debates or votes for many years.

Organization.

The differences of opinion, disposition, and interest among the members were very great. Some came for the sole purpose of opposing any change that might possibly reduce the political independence of the States; but these were few. A large majority was found to be determined that some structure of positive nationality should be framed. The strong delegation from Virginia led proceedings firmly to that end. They gave direction to the debate from the beginning, by bringing forward a plan of government, drafted mainly by Madison, which swept the Articles of Confederation out of view, and turned the thought of the Convention to a work, not of mending and patching, but of new construction throughout. It was a bold

The Virginia plan.

project, since nothing in the credentials of the delegates gave them authority to do more than revise and amend the existing Articles of Confederation; but the majority of the Convention were not men who would enter on so momentous an undertaking with tied hands. The day after their discussions in committee of the whole began, they adopted the following: "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, judiciary, and executive." This determined and established at the outset the foundations of the scheme of government to be framed. It was to be a *national* government; it was to be a *supreme* government; it was to be a government that should exercise all governing powers, making, adjudicating, and executing the laws within its sphere.

A national government projected.

This speedy settlement of the main question in dispute — between a national government and a mere "league of friendship" — did not bring the Convention to easier problems in its task. The most troublesome conflicts of opinion and feeling were still to be faced. First and worst among them came one from the distrust and anxiety which the smaller States felt in contemplating a national union with States larger both in population and wealth. How could they be protected from oppressive uses of national power by a few large States? At first they could see no safety for themselves unless the existing equal vote of the States in legislation should be maintained. But that was a concession which the larger States could not make. The latter insisted, and rightly, that there must be representation in the national legislature proportioned to population, and that it must

Proportionate representation.

be a representation, not of States, but of the people, as citizens of the United States, choosing their representatives by their own direct votes. At last a happy compromise was found. The Convention had agreed already that "the national legislature ought to consist of two branches," and it was decided (by an extremely close vote) that the members of the first branch should be elected by the people of the several States, "according to some equitable ratio of representation," while those of the second branch should be chosen by the State legislature, and that in the second branch the States should have equal votes.[1] Thus our two Houses of Congress, the House of Representatives, coming directly from the people, and the Senate, coming from the States, were made up. After that agreement had been reached the smaller States felt assured of safety in the Union, and most of their delegates joined heartily with those who labored to make the new general government a substantial one in sovereignty and strength.

Compromise on state representation.

The next problem of great seriousness arose from the fact that some States contained large numbers of slaves and others had few or none. Were the slaves to be counted as part of the population entitled to representation in Congress, or not? South Carolina insisted that they must be reckoned so, and would be hostile to the new Constitution if that were refused. North Carolina and Georgia were almost as imperative in the same demand. The proposition seemed intolerable to the northern delegates; but to save their whole work from being wrecked on it,

Compromise on slave representation.

[1] Constitution, Art I. sect. 2, clause 3, and sect. 3, clause 1; Amendment 14, clause 2.

they consented at last to a representation in Congress for three fifths of the slaves.[1]

Another question concerning slavery was settled by another compromise. Thirteen years before this time, the First Continental Congress had declared with solemnity, and with undoubted sincerity: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade" (see sect. **104**). But slave labor had been growing more profitable to the rice and indigo planters of South Carolina and Georgia since that time, and now they were fierce in opposition to any restriction of the traffic in slaves. They were likewise opposed to placing the regulation of commerce among the functions of the general government, which New England most ardently desired; but were willing to yield that point if satisfied on the other. So a really shameful bargain was struck between the New Englanders and the planters of the far South, which left the African slave trade open for twenty years — until 1808.[2] This mercenary bargain in dealing with a great moral question was bitterly condemned, and by no people more severely than by the illustrious Virginians of that day.

Compromise on slave trade.

A third concession to the slave-holding interest, destined in future times to be a dangerous cause of irritation in the country, was embodied in a provision for the recovery of persons "held to service or labor in one State" and "escaping into another."[3]

Fugitive slaves.

The greater difficulties encountered in framing the new constitution were overcome by the three important

[1] Constitution, Art. I. sect. 2, clause 3.
[2] Constitution, Art. I. sect. 9, clause 1.
[3] Constitution, Art. IV. sect. 2, clause 3.

compromises: (1) representing the States, small and large, equally in the Senate of the United States; (2) counting three fifths of the slaves in apportioning seats in the national House of Representatives; (3) prohibiting importation of slaves, but not until 1808. Stubborn differences of opinion appeared on many other points, but none that were seriously threatening to the success of the Convention in its task. In this brief history we cannot trace its work in detail, nor dwell upon the features of the incomparable structure of federative national government which it designed and perfected for this republic of many united states. That is a political study that will need to be pursued elsewhere.

The three great compromises.

148. The Struggle and the Victory for the New Constitution. September, 1787–July, 1788. The work of the Convention was finished on the 17th of September, 1787. It was made a provision of the Constitution that it should be submitted to conventions specially elected in each State, and that when ratified by nine States it should become the Constitution of a general government for those States, even if rejected by the remaining four. Then, for ten months, the advocates of the Constitution, who took the name of Federalists, fought desperately with its opponents to win acceptance for it in the States. Reasonable argument was overwhelmingly on their side; but prejudices, local jealousies, petty views of local interest, trivial fears, were enlisted easily on the other side and hard to overcome. Nothing less than unsparing and prodigious exertion on the part of the strongest men in the country could have achieved the victory that was won. The highest honors of that victory belong to Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, who

Submission to the States.

explained the provisions of the pending Constitution, and showed what their working would be, in a series of remarkable essays, published first in a newspaper between October, 1787, and June, 1788, and collected afterward in a famous book entitled "The Federalist," which is, to this day, the best exposition of the American Constitution, and one of the ablest treatises on the principles of government that has ever been produced. Of 85 essays that make up "The Federalist," Hamilton wrote 51, Madison 29, and John Jay 5. The influence of these writings in bringing about the adoption of the Federal Constitution was very great.

Hamilton and Madison.

"The Federalist."

Little Delaware was the first State to ratify, on the 7th of December, 1787. Pennsylvania followed on the 12th of the same month, and New Jersey on the 18th. Georgia opened the new year by a unanimous ratification, January 2, and Connecticut came next, on the 9th. A sharper contest ensued in Massachusetts, where the Federalists carried a ratifying vote, on the 6th of February. Samuel Adams, who opposed the Constitution at first, yielded assent to it in the end. Maryland was carried more easily on the 28th of April, and South Carolina with some difficulty on the 23d of May. One State more would create a federal union of nine and give the Constitution effect; but the Federalists were battling with little hope in all the remaining five. They did win two of the five in June, — New Hampshire on the 21st, Virginia on the 25th, — and they added New York on the 26th of July. The hardest fight of all was in New York, where Hamilton, by sheer force of argument, during weeks of debate, turned a hostile majority of two thirds into a finally favoring majority of three.

Ratifications.

So the Union under a national constitution was formed by eleven States. North Carolina held aloof from it until November, 1789, and Rhode Island until June, 1790.

149. The Ordinance of 1787. The old Continental Congress, now about to disappear from history, had lately clothed itself with an unexpected final dignity by one really sovereign and greatly important act. That act was an ordinance, passed in July, 1787, for the organization and government of the northwestern territory which the Confederation had acquired from the States (see sect. **141**). The measure was pressed by a company organized in the interest of a large number of the officers and soldiers of the late war, who wished to make new homes for themselves in the west. General Rufus Putnam, General Samuel Parsons, and Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Massachusetts, were the leading promoters of this Ohio Company, as it was named, and negotiations with Congress were conducted by the gentleman last named. He and his associates are credited with some of the wisest provisions of the ordinance, affecting the future of five great States. It was provided that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged;" that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments;" that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes;"[1]

The northwestern territory.

Schools.

Guarantees of freedom.

[1] The exclusion of slavery had been proposed by Jefferson, in 1784, when he drafted an ordinance of government for the whole western territory, both north and south of the Ohio, which Congress did not adopt.

and that "the said territory and the States which may be formed therein shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States." These and other provisions were declared to be "articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent." It was stipulated in the ordinance that not less than three nor more than five States should be formed in the territory described. The result has been the formation of five, namely, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

Five States formed.

In the beginning this Western Territory, as it was named, was placed under a single government, and its first governor was General Arthur St. Clair. In October and November, 1787, a million and a half acres of land on the Muskingum and Ohio rivers were sold to the Ohio Company, three and a half millions to an associated organization of speculators, and two millions to a private buyer, at two thirds of a dollar an acre. A great movement of emigration to these lands began at once, and settlements arose rapidly along the northern banks of the Ohio. Marietta and Cincinnati (named Losantiville at first) were the towns of quickest growth.

First sales of land.

150. Election of George Washington for the First President of the Reconstituted United States. Before its dissolution, the old Congress made provision for bringing the new Federal Constitution into operation, by directing that presidential electors should be chosen in January, 1789; that the electors should meet and cast their votes in February; that the votes should be counted by the two Houses of the new Congress (to be elected meantime in the several States) on the first

Wednesday in March (which fell that year on the 4th), and that the meeting place of the Congress for that purpose should be the city of New York. It was the 6th of April, however, before a quorum of the House and the Senate reached New York. On that day the electoral votes were counted, and Washington was found to be the unanimous choice for President, while John Adams had received a majority of the second votes cast and was chosen Vice-President thereby.[1]

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

140. The "Critical Period."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. How the period following the war was made critical. Fiske, *Critical Period*, 55–63.

2. Preparation and adoption of the Articles of Confederation (text in MacDonald, ii. 6–15). Curtis, i. 124–141; Am. Hist. Ass'n, 1894, 227–236; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 90–94; *Am. Hist. Leaf.*, 7, 20, 28; *O. S. Leaf.*, 2.

RESEARCH. — The Confederation compared with other federal unions, before and since. Hart, *Introduction*, 1–86.

141. Cession of Western Territory by the States Claiming it.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Claims of seven States to western territory. 2. Demand of other States for its cession to the Confederation. 3. Maryland's persistence in that demand. 4. Dates of the several cessions.

[1] As the Constitution provided then, two candidates were to be voted for by each presidential elector, without designating President and Vice-President. The largest number of votes (if a majority of the whole) elected the President: the next largest elected the Vice-President. This was changed by a constitutional amendment in 1804.

Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, ch. xi.–xiii.; Donaldson, ch. iii.; Roosevelt, *The Winning*, iii. 243–251; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 187–196; King, 161–173; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 138–142; *Am. Hist. Leaf.*, 22.

RESEARCH. — Views of the time as to the future of the valley of the Mississippi. Madison, *Letters*, i. 136–140.

142. Weakness of the Confederation.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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143. Commercial Depression.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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RESEARCH. — The slight general distress in the country during the war. Sumner, *The Financier*, ii. ch. xxix.

144. Ruinous Effects of Irredeemable Paper Money.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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RESEARCH. — Services of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance, 1781–85. Sumner, *Morris*, ch. iii., and *The Financier*, ii. ch. xxiii.

145. Dread of a Strong General Government. — Impending Dissolution of the Confederation.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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2. Leading men who strove for a government of national authority and power. 3. Unsuccessful efforts to amend the Articles of Confederation. 4. Signs of an impending dissolution of the Confederation. McMaster, i. 356–389; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 50–53; Washington, x. 345–346, xi. 1–3, 12, 80–82; Holst, *Const. Law*, 13–14; Madison, *Letters*, i. 169–173, 195–198, 201–202, 205–208, 229–230.

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146. The Circumstances which led to a Constitutional Convention.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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147. The Framing of the Constitution.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Distinguished members of the Constitutional Convention. 2. Influence of Washington, its president. 3. Privacy of the proceedings. 4. Determination of the majority, Virginia in the lead.

5. The first and fundamental resolution. 6. The question of representation, between large and small States: how compromised. 7. The same question between slave States and free States: how compromised. 8. Questions relative to the slave trade and the general regulation of commerce: how dealt with. 9. Concession relative to fugitive slaves. Madison, *Papers*, ii.–iii. 685–1624 (or the same in Elliot, v. 5), and *Letters*, i. 343–355; Washington, xi. 128–156; Bancroft, vi. 207–276, 292–367; Curtis, i. 374–488, ii. 3–487; *Federalist*; Holst, *Const. Law*, 16–24; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 222–305; McMaster, i. 438–453; Hunt, ch. xiii.–xiv.; Gay, ch. vii.–viii.; Roosevelt, *Morris*, 133–165; Stillé, ch. vii.; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 57–65; Schouler, i. 39–51; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. ch. x.; *O. S. Leaf.*, 70.

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148. Struggle and Victory for the New Constitution.

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149. The Ordinance of 1787.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Character and purpose of the ordinance, passed by the old Congress (text in *O. S. Leaf.*, 13; Larned, *Ready Ref.;* MacDonald, ii. 21–29). 2. The Ohio Company and its influence. 3. Important provisions of the ordinance. 4. The five States developed under it. 5. First land sales and beginnings of settlement. Hinsdale, *Old N. W.*, ch. xv.; Cutler, i. ch. iv.–xii.; Winsor, *Westward*, ch. xiv.; *N. A. Rev.* (Poole), April, 1876; Drake, *Ohio Valley States*, 153–172; Dunn, ch. v.; King, ch. viii.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 154–158; Donaldson, 149–159.

150. Election of George Washington, First President of the Reconstituted United States.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Action of the old Congress, providing for the presidential election. 2. Election of Washington and John Adams. Irving, iv. ch. xxxvii.; Bancroft, vi. 466–472; McMaster, i. 502–503, 525–535; Hildreth, iv. 38–56; Schouler, i. 79–82.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOUNDING OF A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. 1789–1801.[1]

151. Inauguration of President Washington. — Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution. 1789. On the 23d of April President Washington arrived at New York from Mount Vernon, and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed on the last day of the month. The ability and industry of Congress were taxed at once by the need of many important laws for organizing the new government and giving authority and direction to its acts. The Congress proved to be a highly capable body, containing many experienced and strong men, foremost among them James Madison, of Virginia, who sat in the House of Representatives and exercised the leading influence in its work. Before its first session ended, in September, this hard-working Congress passed tariff and tonnage acts, to provide revenue for the national treasury; instituted three departments of administration for the executive branch of government, defining their duties and powers; planned and organized the judicial branch of government, establishing a system of federal courts; confirmed the territorial legislation of the Continental Congress, by reënacting the great Ordinance of 1787 (see sect. **149**), and agreed upon twelve constitutional amendments for submission to the States.

Madison's leadership, 1789.

Work of the first session of Congress, 1789.

[1] See Map IX.

On most of these measures there were spirited debates, and nearly every issue that has risen since in American politics, between opposing interests in different parts of the country or opposing ideas, came to the surface then. The scheme of duties discussed in framing the first national tariff was so moderate as to seem insignificant now; but it raised at once the question between duties levied solely for revenue and duties applied with a view to giving some substantial advantage, or "protection," to commodities produced at home against competing articles brought in from abroad. The theory of "protection" carried the day, but the practical application of it was exceedingly mild.

First national tariff.

A motion to tax the importation of slaves by a duty of ten dollars on each kindled instantly the feeling that grew more passionate in American politics until, after more than seventy years, the cause of it perished in the flames of civil war.

First slavery question.

The three executive departments instituted were that of foreign affairs, called the State Department, the Treasury Department, and the Department of War. For his secretaries in these departments Washington appointed Alexander Hamilton to the Treasury, Thomas Jefferson to the Department of State, and General Henry Knox to that of War. As the country was then situated, nothing else in its government was so important as a wise and strong handling of financial affairs. In choosing Hamilton for that trust Washington picked, without doubt, the one man in America who had, not only the grasp of needed knowledge, but the boldness, the energy, the convincing power to carry others with himself and accomplish what should lay, from the beginning, a sure foundation of credit and prosperity for the young republic of the

First executive departments.

Hamilton.

United States. Congress left the gravest financial problems of the hour to be studied by the Secretary of the Treasury, and when it reassembled in January, 1790, he submitted a report on the public debt and public credit which is monumental as a work of statesmanship in public finance. Jefferson, coming from France near the end of 1789, did not enter on the duties of his office until the following March; meantime John Jay, already named for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, conducted the Department of State.

Jefferson and Jay.

Of the twelve constitutional amendments proposed by this first Congress, ten were ratified within the next two years. Nine of them were in the nature of a guarantee of certain fundamental rights, — free speech, religious freedom, jury trial, and the like, — which the framers of the Constitution had omitted intentionally, believing it to be unnecessary. The tenth amendment was a concession to the widespread feeling that stood guard over "state rights." It declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

First constitutional amendments.

152. Hamilton's Report on the Public Debt and on Public Credit. 1790. Simply stated, the whole argument of Hamilton's famous report on the public debt was to demonstrate the sound policy of a plain, unflinching, unquibbling honesty in the payment of every dollar of the public debt, however incurred and by whomsoever claimed. The debt of the late Confederation was found to be something more than $54,000,000, of which nearly $12,000,000 was for loans made in Holland, France, and Spain. Nobody opposed a full payment of the foreign debt; but concerning the

Debt of the Confederation.

payment of large parts of the $42,000,000 claimed by creditors at home, there were specious objections raised. Much of it was represented by certificates which had sunk in market value, as the prospect of their final payment seemed to fade, and which speculators had been and were still buying up for small sums. Another considerable part was in Continental currency, the latest holders of which obtained it, probably, for some petty fraction of its nominal worth. Considering these facts, many people saw no reason for paying the Continental notes and certificates in full, according to the promise that they bore on their face. At the same time nobody could propose a practicable plan for determining how much of the promise should be repudiated and how much fulfilled. Hamilton's powerful reasoning prevailed. His plans for "funding" the whole debt, by an issue of United States bonds bearing interest, payable at definite times, with a "sinking fund" of moneys set apart for the payment of the bonds, and with a due provision of additional revenues to guarantee the whole, was approved and the necessary measures were passed.

Funding the debt.

But, besides the debts of the Confederation, there were $25,000,000 or more of debts which the several States had contracted in the prosecution of the War of Independence; and Hamilton contended that those should be assumed by the general government, because they represented expenditures for the common national cause. This part of his recommendation was violently opposed. The bitterest hostility came from those who saw that the assumption of these state debts would tend to strengthen and nationalize the general government, and who regarded such a consequence as one to be feared. On the other hand,

Assumption of state debts.

in Hamilton's mind, and in the minds of those who shared his political views, that undoubted effect of the Assumption Bill gave the weightiest of reasons for carrying it through. On the merits of the argument, however, it could not be passed, and its final success was gained by a bargain which secured the needed votes. Opportunity for the bargain was given by a lively struggle then in progress over the question of locating the national government in a capital subject to its own control. Certain southern Congressmen, opposed to the assumption of state debts, were so eager to plant the projected capital city on the Potomac that they arranged with the assumption party for an exchange of votes which accomplished the desires of both. The whole war indebtedness of the country, both general and local, was taken in hand, for unhesitating payment, and American credit rose instantly high; while the federal union was powerfully cemented and nationalized by that sovereign act. From the other side of the transaction there came a board of commissioners who acquired the soil of the District of Columbia and planned the beautiful city that bears Washington's name. Both results were eminently good; but the method of attaining them was bad. It was denounced, and justly, at the time; for great dangers in legislation are opened and corruptions encouraged by such trafficking of votes.

Locating the national capital.

153. The Slavery Question. — First Abolition Memorials. 1790. The grim "slavery question," breeding an "irrepressible conflict" in the nation already, had its hearing in Congress again. Memorials received "from the people called Quakers," and from a "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery," of which Franklin was president, stirred up a passionate debate, and called out a committee report, which the House of

Representatives adopted, affirming the powerlessness of Congress to interfere with slavery in the States. Franklin's signature to the Pennsylvania memorial was one of his last acts. He died on the 17th of April, 1790.

Death of Franklin.

154. First Census. — First Patent Law, etc. 1790. At the second session of the First Congress, the first act to provide for a national census of population, the first naturalization act, the first patent act, and the first copyright act, were passed. The policy embodied so early in the patent act, of giving a wise stimulation to the inventive genius of the people, and thus cultivating a keen attentiveness to economies of labor and time, has been of immeasurable influence in advancing the welfare of the country along material lines. The union of thirteen States became complete while this session was in progress, by the tardy action of Rhode Island, which ratified the Constitution in June. North Carolina had done the same in the previous November.

The census taken in 1790 showed a total population of 3,929,000, of whom 3,172,000 were white, 698,000 were negro slaves, and 59,000 were free blacks. Of the white population, 1,900,000 were resident north and 1,271,000 south of "Mason and Dixon's line." All but 40,000 of the slaves were held in the States south of Pennsylvania.

155. The National Bank Question. 1790–1791. A third session of the First Congress was opened in December, in Philadelphia, which became the seat of government for ten years, while the federal capital on the Potomac was being prepared. Again the leading subjects of debate and legislation were introduced by the fertile Secretary of the Treasury, who brought forward plans, (1) for a necessary enlargement of revenue by

increased customs-duties and by an internal tax, called excise, and (2) for strengthening the organization of capital and credit in the country, besides aiding the financial operations of government, through the creation of a national bank. Legislation for the proposed excise tax, which touched nothing but distilled spirits, was adopted without much debate; but the project of a national bank, to be connected in interest with the government, to be employed by it, and to be a moneyed power, more or less under its control, was violently opposed. In this, as in his former proposals, Hamilton aimed at the solidifying of the Union as a fabric of real nationality, and he roused again the hostility of those who thought it better to invigorate the local governments of the States than to raise over them a more sovereign government and unify them by its strong embrace.

Excise tax.

Objects of a national bank.

156. The Doctrine of "Implied Powers" in the Constitution. That antagonism between two political views, in which state sovereignty and national sovereignty were the opposing aims, took on a new phase from Hamilton's argument in support of his project of a national bank. Madison, Jefferson, and others contended that the Constitution gave Congress no authority to charter banks, and cited the tenth article of the recent amendments, which declares that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." In reply Hamilton pointed to the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, which sets forth, in seventeen clauses, the powers expressly given to Congress, and adds an eighteenth clause (known since as the "elastic clause"), giving it the broad, undefined power "to make

The "elastic clause" in the Constitution.

all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." The proposed bank, he argued, is a necessary and proper instrument for government use in borrowing money, paying debts, handling revenue, and providing for the general welfare. Hence the power to create it is implied.

This doctrine of "implied powers" in the Constitution — a doctrine that gives elasticity to that fundamental code, making it capable of indefinite stretching, by free interpretation — opened a new breach between the men who wanted a strong nation and the men who cared most for strong States. The division then begun has run through American politics ever since, ranging on one side those whose opinions tend toward a "strict construction of the Federal Constitution," to limit the powers it confers, against those on the other side who construe it with partiality for strong claims. The latter were successful with the bank bill in Congress and successful in satisfying the scruples of the President, who signed the bill after carefully weighing the constitutional arguments on both sides. Chartered for twenty years, the bank was founded with a capital of $20,000,000, the government holding $2,000,000 of its stock. Its principal seat was in Philadelphia, but eight branches were placed in other cities, and the helpfulness expected from the bank by the business interests of the country was given in full.

"Strict" and "free" construction.

The first National Bank.

The country, in fact, was realizing already immense effects of good from the great political change it had undergone. The steadying influence of the new system of government on all general conditions was not to be denied. Internal trade, no longer troubled at state boundary lines, was

Influence of the new political system, 1789-1792.

beginning to flow in beneficent streams. Foreign commerce was reviving in the atmosphere of public and private credit which Hamilton's wise measures had diffused; shipping enterprise was active again; production of every kind was finding fresh encouragements, and prosperity was reaching all districts and every class. But a speculative spirit was wakened, also, that would do mischief in the end.

157. Vermont and Kentucky admitted to the Union. 1791. At this time the Union received its first accession of new States. Vermont and Kentucky were admitted as its fourteenth and fifteenth members in February, 1791. Since 1777 Vermont had maintained an independent existence as a politically foreign State. Its territory had been in dispute between the royal provinces of New Hampshire and New York, but mostly settled under what were known as "the New Hampshire grants." A royal decision in 1764 gave the disputed district to New York, and the government of that province undertook to set aside the New Hampshire grants. This provoked the "Green Mountain boys" to resist. In 1777 they organized the government of an independent State and named it Vermont. The new State applied repeatedly to the Continental Congress for admission to the Confederation, and was kept out by the influence of New York. Notwithstanding these rebuffs, and though tempted by the British authorities in Canada, the Vermonters coöperated with the States of the Confederation throughout the Revolutionary War. Terms were arranged finally with New York, in October, 1790, and Vermont was received into the union of States.

Rival claimants to Vermont.

Kentucky had been governed hitherto as a district of Virginia, but its settlers, now multiplying rapidly, had

obtained the consent of that State to their political separation, and were to organize their distinct government in June, 1792. Congress, in advance, decreed their admission, to take place at that time.

158. Hamilton and the policy of "Protection to Home Industries." 1791. The Second Congress, assembled in October, 1791, took no measures of great moment in hand. Hamilton wished to round out his economic policy by a systematic measure of "protection," for the upbuilding of home manufactures, and urged his project in an elaborate report. It contemplated not only a thoroughgoing "protective tariff," but likewise a system of bounties to encourage productive enterprise; of premiums for useful inventions; of liberal appropriations for the building and improvement of roads and canals; and, generally, of governmental stimulation to productive industries wherever it could be applied with effect. For the needed authority Hamilton appealed again to what he held to be "implied" in the Constitution, though not expressed. In this use of it, the doctrine of implied powers became more obnoxious than ever to "strict constructionists," especially as leading toward a policy of "internal improvements" that might be of illimitable scope. Congress took no action on this report; but a complete set of policies for future political parties, and of arguments for future politicians, was stored up in the document and came finally into use.

Internal improvements.

159. Indian War. — Harmar's and St. Clair's defeats. 1790–1791. Some increase of the small federal army was made necessary at this time by a war with the northwestern Indians, conducted so badly that two appalling disasters had occurred. In the first instance an expedition commanded by General Harmar suffered

defeat with terrible slaughter in a fight on the Maumee (October, 1790); in the second, a larger force, of some 1400 militia and regulars, led by the governor of the Territory, General St. Clair, into the depths of the wilderness, was surprised and overwhelmed by the savages (November 4, 1791), as Braddock's had been, and was more than half destroyed. Fresh forces were now raised, and the command was given to General Anthony Wayne, who subdued the hostile tribes in the course of the next three years.

160. Reëlection of President Washington. 1792. The term of President Washington would expire in the spring of 1793, and he longed to be released from the cares of his office, but yielded to appeals from all sides and allowed himself to be named for a second term. Again he was chosen unanimously, and again the next highest number of votes was given to John Adams, re-electing him Vice-President, over George Clinton, of New York.

161. The Arraying of Political Parties, Federalist and Anti-Federalist (afterwards called Republican). 1793. There were two political parties in the country now, still called Federalist and Anti-Federalist, but arrayed with more distinctness than hitherto, and mainly on lines which divided Americans in their politics for half a century to come. Washington had tried to conduct a non-partisan administration; but even he could only hold himself above partisan feelings, while his two chief ministers and advisers, Hamilton and Jefferson, led the rallying of political opinion in the country on opposing sides. Hamilton's measures, aims, and doctrines brought the cleavage about, as we have seen. The Constitution was no longer in question; its acceptance by everybody was complete. Disputes in politics now were over the

meanings of its language, — the constructions to be put on it, — the powers that it gave to the general government and the functions that it left to the States. In these disputes many former Federalists became Anti-Federalists, Madison, the very "Father of the Constitution," as he has been called, being one. Jefferson, who was in France during the framing of the Constitution, was foremost of all in opposing the course given to the government by Hamilton's strong hand.

The new disputes in politics.

The opposition was not only to Hamilton's measures and to his constitutional doctrines, but to a monarchical inclination that was believed to be lurking in Federalist minds. Hamilton never concealed his admiration for the English Constitution; but he knew that the government of the United States could never take on a monarchical form, and there is no reason to suppose that he aimed at that result. He was distrustful of democracy, however, — afraid to have the government of the country fall under the control of the people at large, — and wished to strengthen as much as possible the influence of certain classes, whose wealth, or business interests, or education would make them careful in political affairs. Those classes formed the bulk of the party that rallied round him, and its spirit was essentially aristocratic, without doubt. It was naturally antagonistic to those who believed, as Jefferson believed, in the rightful sovereignty of the whole people, and who had faith in the training of the whole people to prudent and wise action in public affairs.

Hamilton's distrust of democracy.

Jefferson's faith in the people.

The antagonism between the two parties heated more animosity than ever appears in politics now. The country was trying a momentous experiment in government,

never tried on so large a scale before. The statesmen who formed and led opposing political parties were groping nearly in the dark, guided mostly by theories, and they were constantly alert with suspicions and fears. Their judgment of motives was warped by their nervous alarms. It was believed seriously by Jefferson and his followers that Hamilton and John Adams and the Federalists generally were a band of conspiring monarchists, who worked insidiously to break the republic down and make lords of themselves. In turn, the Hamiltonians were convinced that Jefferson and his leading associates were mere demagogues, striving recklessly for power as the leaders of a mob. We know now, from the private correspondence of these men, and from other revelations of them, that such notions were utterly unjust. Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, and their colleagues in the lead of the contending parties were all patriotic statesmen, of the high class in ability and character; but they represented two orders of mind, and they looked at public questions from two points of view.

Unjust suspicions on both sides.

Patriotism on both sides.

Even those who reject the main political doctrines of Hamilton may think it was best for the country that his view, and not Jefferson's, prevailed in the beginnings of the government. The effect of his measures, which tended powerfully to consolidate and nationalize our federal union at the outset, and to make the supremacy of its general government felt, would seem to have been a need at the time. The state jealousies and the theories of "State rights" and "State sovereignty," which opposed those measures, did mischief in later times, but they never again had power to do such harm to the nation as they might have done if carried into practice and precedent then.

At the same time, it can be seen that there were and are serious dangers in Hamilton's doctrines, pressed, as he was disposed to press them, to the extreme. They can easily be carried so far as to make too much of government, — assign too many duties and powers to it, — make it what is called a "paternal government," undertaking things that ought to be done by the people for themselves. Hamilton would probably have carried them too far in those paternal directions, if he had had his way fully ; and he would have centralized the government too much, taking local matters out of local control much more than is good for the political training of the people. Jefferson and the Jeffersonians were right in discerning those tendencies, and right in their distrust of the anti-democratic spirit of the Federalist party. Hamilton and the Hamiltonians were equally right in fearing that the policy advocated by their opponents would cause a dangerous slip backward toward the feebleness of the old Confederation, from which they had just escaped. There was reason and right in the opinions and feeling of both parties ; there was danger in both when they ran their inclinations to the extreme. They were a needed check upon each other, and the same checking and counter-checking of the same opposing tendencies has been a natural necessity in American politics ever since.

Dangers on both sides.

The parties a needed check to each other.

162. The French Revolution in American Politics. 1789–1793. Antagonism between the two parties was intensified, soon after the beginning of Washington's second term, by excitements rising out of the terrible revolution then maddening France. A warm sympathy with the revolutionary movement had been universal in the United States at first. There was a certain American exultation in it, because it came as a sequel to the

American Revolution, and that feeling was increased by the prominence of the part taken by Lafayette. But, as the Revolution ran its awful course and Lafayette was driven to flight, and as the ruthlessness of the rising Jacobin party was more and more displayed, a strong reaction was produced in conservative minds. To Federalists, generally, the revolutionists seemed to be dragging France into hopeless anarchy, while Anti-Federalists were still able to look upon them as heroic champions of the rights of man.

American feeling toward France.

163. France and England at War. — "Citizen Genet." 1793. News came in the spring of 1793 that the French revolutionists had declared war with England, and this was followed by the arrival of a new minister from France, sent to demand aid from the United States. Our government then had troublesome questions to face, because the treaty of 1778 with the king of France pledged help to him in defending his possessions on this side of the sea. Was that treaty binding now, since the royal government that made it had been overthrown, and since France was not defensively but aggressively at war? Washington and his advisers decided, after considering these questions with care, that they were justified in taking a neutral stand. Jefferson, as Secretary of State, seems to have acquiesced in that decision; but the mass of his party was so enthusiastic in friendship for France, and so hostile to England, that the neutrality proclaimed by the President was hard to preserve. "Citizen Genet," as the new French minister was styled, received such extravagant demonstrations of welcome that he was badly misled, imagining that the people would overrule their government, and allow him to push them into war. He took a defiant attitude toward the government; commis-

Was the treaty with France binding?

sioned privateers; established prize courts in French consulates; enlisted seamen and troops; bought munitions of war; and, finally, was said to have threatened to appeal to the people against the action of the President. This latter insolence he denied; but there seems to be good evidence that the charge was true. His conduct angered all Americans of proper feeling, and the government was supported by public opinion in demanding his recall. He never returned to France, however, but married and was settled quietly in New York for the remainder of his life, after being superseded early in 1794.

Conduct of "Citizen Genet," 1793.

164. Enmity between Jefferson and Hamilton. 1793. Jefferson was then no longer Washington's Secretary of State, having resigned at the end of 1793. The opposition between him and Hamilton had grown to enmity, and, as the latter prevailed oftenest in the cabinet counsels, Jefferson found himself uncomfortably placed. He retired to private life, but still exercised the leading influence in his party — the "Democratic-Republican" party, as the Anti-Federalists were now named. For many years their organization was spoken of commonly as the Republican party, and its distinctness from the later political party of that name must be kept carefully in mind. In after years it preferred to be called, as it is now, the Democratic party.

Retirement of Jefferson, 1793.

Hamilton remained in the government for more than a year after Jefferson's retirement; then he, too, withdrew; but continued to exercise a powerful influence in public affairs.

Retirement of Hamilton, 1795.

165. Impending War with England. — Peace Mission of Chief Justice Jay. 1793–1794. The situation of the country, between the powers at war, was made

difficult by the conduct of both. England seemed determined to regard the United States as practically the ally of France, while the French were angry because that alliance was refused. The rights of neutrals in trade with countries at war was not defined then by general agreement as it has been since, and many questions were in dispute. The English, being masterful at sea, endeavored always to put narrow limits on neutral rights, and the French followed their practices as far as they could. But the naval weakness of the latter compelled them to invite neutral ships to undertake the commerce of their West India colonies, which they had jealously kept to themselves in times of peace. This opened to the Americans an immensely profitable and extensive trade; but England maintained that war could not create a commercial privilege not existing before, and numerous American vessels engaged in the French West Indian trade were caught by her cruisers and condemned by English courts.

Disputed rights of neutrals.

This, however, provoked less feeling than another English practice of the time. The activity of American shipping was causing a great demand for sailors in American ports, at higher wages than the English paid, with better treatment, and numerous desertions from English ships were induced. Complaining that American courts and American law gave them no proper help to recover such deserters, the English government directed its naval officers to search American ships for them and take them wherever found. Many who claimed to be American citizens were "impressed" in this exasperating manner; for nativity was hard to prove, as between Englishmen and Americans, and England had never conceded the right of a born subject to cast off his allegiance to her crown.

British search and impressment.

It had been hard enough before for Americans to endure the continued holding of their western forts by British garrisons, and to bear what they believed to be malicious tampering with western Indians by some of the officers at those forts. Now that a new cause of bitter feeling was added to the old, there seemed to be little possibility of avoiding war. Washington, however, made one last, earnest effort for peace. With authority from Congress, he commissioned the Chief Justice, John Jay, as a special envoy, to negotiate with the British government for more friendly relations; and Jay departed on his mission in May, 1794.

Washington's effort for peace.

166. "Whiskey Rebellion" in Pennsylvania. 1794. At that time peace at home was threatened by rebellious opposition in western Pennsylvania to the excise. There, and in western North Carolina and Virginia, the conversion of grain into whiskey afforded to the farmers, in and beyond the mountains, the best means of marketing their crops. Hence the tax on distilled spirits was especially resented in those parts of the country. In the summer of 1794 the riotous demonstrations in Pennsylvania became so rebellious that Washington, by proclamation, called out about 13,000 militia, placed them under General Henry Lee, then governor of Virginia, and sent them to the scene of trouble, along with commissioners appointed to deal with the insurgents and investigate their grounds of discontent. This strong measure was effective; the whiskey rebellion collapsed; the authority of the government was vindicated, and respect for it was notably raised.

167. The Jay Treaty with England. 1794–1796. Mr. Jay's negotiations resulted in a treaty, signed at London November 19, 1794, which did not reach the United States till the following March. Its provisions (except-

ing one article, relative to West India trade) were not known to the public till after it had been ratified by the Senate, at a special session held in June. Then a tempest of rage, in every part of the country, but especially at the south, burst on all who had to do with the making of the treaty or accepting its terms. It was not such an arrangement with England as any American statesman of the time would have made if the circumstances of the country had not been what they were. Washington signed it after long hesitation; for, though it did not go near to the bottom of the causes of quarrel between England and the United States, it was a first step toward that end. It secured the surrender of the western forts in June, 1796. It provided for a payment, on one hand, of the disputed debts to British creditors, and of indemnity, on the other hand, for recent illegal captures of American ships.[1] It established a solemn agreement between the two nations that private debts should never thereafter be sequestered in war. It provided for joint commissions to determine the disputed boundaries in America. But it did not bind England to stop impressments from American ships. It opened the ports of the United States to British ships, in return for privileges in the British West Indies that were thought to have no worth. It secured no compensation for slaves set free by the British in the War of Independence and taken with them when they left. For these and other shortcomings the treaty was raged against, as a piece of cowardly truckling to Great Britain, worse in effect than any consequence of war.

Provisions of the treaty.

Objections to the treaty.

[1] Under these provisions the United States ultimately received about $6,000,000 in indemnity for illegal captures, and paid less than $3,000,000 on British debts owed at the outbreak of the Revolution. *Schouler*, ii. 27.

Gradually a reaction of opinion took place, and many of those who had denounced the treaty came to see that its acceptance was wise.

168. Important Events in the West. 1795–1796. The Jay treaty gave deep offence to France; and Spain, too, complained. After long efforts, a treaty with the latter country had just been concluded (October, 1795), which would free the navigation of the Mississippi and give important privileges to American merchants at New Orleans. Spain now threatened to repudiate it, because of what she claimed to be inconsistent agreements with England; but in the end the important Spanish treaty came into effect.

Navigation of the Mississippi.

On the 1st of June, 1796, Tennessee, the sixteenth State — the second formed in the great interior valley — was admitted to the American Union, and Andrew Jackson, its first federal representative, came to Congress in the fall of that year. On that same 1st of June, British garrisons marched out and American garrisons marched in to the western forts of the United States. Soon afterward the Mississippi was opened to free navigation by the flatboats of traders from the Ohio and its tributaries, and they could market their products from the Spanish town of New Orleans. The west was coming into American history with quick strides.

Admission of Tennessee, 1796.

Delivery of western forts, 1796.

169. Retirement of Washington.— Election of John Adams. 1796–1797. Washington was now making glad preparations to quit the presidential seat. He could not yield again to the appeals that were made to him for another term of public service, and his positive decision was announced on the 17th of September, 1796, by the publication of his "Farewell Address," — a noble

utterance of wise counsel to his countrymen, which can never lose its impressive weight and force in the minds of the American people so long as they do not lose their sense of truth and right. It is especially a most solemn admonition to the country to beware of factiousness and violence in party spirit; to discourage sectional jealousies and antagonisms; to avoid entanglement in the policies and politics of the Old World; — every one of which warnings bears all the wisdom now that it bore when Washington wrote.

Washington's "Farewell Address."

In the presidential election that followed, John Adams and Thomas Pinckney were the understood candidates of the Federalists (no formal nominations being made in those days), while the Republicans, or Democrats, were united in desiring to elect Thomas Jefferson, but divided somewhat in their second choice. When the electoral votes were counted, Adams was found to have received 71, and Jefferson 68, which made Adams President and Jefferson Vice-President.

170. Quarrel and Hostilities with France. 1797–1798. President Adams, inaugurated March 4, 1797, kept the cabinet of his predecessor, which proved to be a mistake. Its members could not throw off the powerful influence of Hamilton, even after the retirement of that masterful statesman from public life, and troublesome frictions in the government and in the Federalist party were produced. At the outset, the new administration had serious ill-feelings in France to face. Our minister there, from 1794 until late in 1796, had been James Monroe, a Republican, warm in friendship with the French republicans and strongly opposed to the treaty with England negotiated by Mr. Jay. His course had not been satisfactory to

Continuation of Hamilton's influence.

President Washington, and he had been recalled, General C. C. Pinckney being sent in his place. The French government, already bitter in feeling toward this country, resented the change, and refused to receive the new minister, ordering him out of France. President Adams had news of this affront before the middle of the month (March, 1797) in which his presidency began, and called a special session of Congress to take such measures as it seemed to demand. Hostile acts on the part of the French authorities, in lawless seizures of ships and goods, were increasing from day to day, and war appeared inevitable; but the President and the more sober-minded of his party friends sought anxiously for means to avoid a resort to arms. Congress sanctioned the appointment of three envoys extraordinary, who should convey to France the wish of the American government to deal fairly with its complaints. John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry were associated with Pinckney, the rejected minister, in this important mission, and the three reached Paris in the fall of the year.

Minister Pinckney ordered out of France, 1797.

Unofficially, the envoys were treated courteously, but no official hearing was given to them for months. Meanwhile they were beset by three emissaries from Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, who gave them to understand that they could hope for nothing unless they placed a large gift of money in Talleyrand's hands for the men who were then at the head of the French government (styled the Directory), besides making a loan of some millions to the public treasury of France. As they spurned such overtures, their mission was futile, and their reports of the rascally proposals, and of the treatment they had undergone, roused intense feeling in the

Talleyrand's emissaries, X. Y. Z., 1797-1798.

United States when published, in April, 1798. In the publication of their despatches the three emissaries of Talleyrand were not named, but designated as X. Y. Z.

That a serious war did not follow was only because the French government soon manifested a different state of mind. It had been intoxicated for two years past by the prodigious achievements of its young general, Napoleon Bonaparte; but Bonaparte had led his army on a wild expedition to Egypt and Syria, and appeared more than likely to lose it there. A formidable coalition of European powers was armed against the dreaded republic, and it had enough fighting in prospect on the other side of the Atlantic without pushing its quarrel in America. But the war spirit kindled by the "X. Y. Z. Correspondence" raged fiercely in the United States for some time. The tide of public feeling was with the Federalists; the Republicans were borne down. Military preparations were hurried on, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, with Hamilton next in command. For its navy the country had three lately finished frigates, the Constitution, the Constellation, and the United States; but vessels were bought and adapted to naval use, and four small squadrons were formed, while a swarm of privateers was let loose on French merchant ships. The Constellation fought sharp battles with two French frigates, one of which, L'Insurgente, she captured, while the other escaped. These were the only important engagements of the war.

Military preparations and naval fights, 1798.

171. The Alien and Sedition Acts. 1798. The Federalists, now strong in popular favor, were puffed up, as we may say, with too much of a sense of power, and adopted high-handed measures against their opponents, as parties in such circumstances are apt to do. On both

sides, the political press of those days was indecent in abuse and slander of public men, and some foreigners employed on Republican newspapers were especially venomous in the use of their pens. In exasperation, the Federalists, controlling Congress, passed acts which struck with blind rage at the freedom of the press and other sacred rights. One, known as the Alien Act (June 25, 1798), empowered the President, for two years, to expel from the country any alien whom he judged to be "dangerous to its peace and safety," and to imprison any who refused to obey his order to depart. The power was never used, but the creation of it was justly alarming to the public mind. Another startling and dangerous measure was the Sedition Act (July 14, 1798), which made it a crime to combine and conspire in opposition to any measure of the government "directed by proper authority;" and which also made it criminal to "write, print, utter, or publish" "any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either House of the Congress of the United States, or the President." Under these acts there were several prosecutions, which harmed the authors of the law more than its victims.

172. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. 1798. If the Federalists were carried in one wrong direction by an evil party spirit, to a serious threatening of civil liberty, the Republicans, in their opposition, went at least equally far on another vicious line. Jefferson and Madison prompted some of their party to advance the constitutional theory that each State has a right to judge for itself whether acts of the general government are or are not within the limit of the powers delegated to that government, and the consequent right, when such acts, in its judgment, are wanting in authority, to declare them

"void and of no force." Resolutions applying this doctrine to the Alien and Sedition laws, and pronouncing them void, were adopted by the legislature of Kentucky in November, 1798. Their authorship was not known at the time, but Jefferson, some years afterward, acknowledged them to be his. At nearly the same time the Virginia legislature adopted a series of resolutions, drawn by Madison, which set forth a somewhat similar but more guarded view of state rights. Madison lived long enough to see the Union brought into great peril by the "nullification" doctrine of the Kentucky resolutions, and he then disclaimed, for Jefferson as well as for himself, any purpose to do more than force attention to the dangerous character of the Federalist laws.

Doctrine of nullification.

173. Overthrow of the Federalist Party. 1800. The Federalists suffered most from their errors, and went down in the presidential election of 1800, never to have power in the national government again. Their legislation had been wanting in respect for the most cherished of rights. Their disposition was not democratic; they felt and expressed distrust of the common mass of people, whom Jefferson and the statesmen of his school trusted most for the guarding of the welfare of the nation as a whole. By the death of Washington, which came suddenly and shocked the country on the 14th of December, 1799, the Federalist party suffered an irreparable loss. Though he tried to be of no party, the "Father of his Country" was plainly drawn in opinion toward Federalist views, and his great influence over the party gave it strength. It was torn by factious quarrels among its leaders after that restraining influence had been withdrawn. Further weakening came from the cooling of war excitements,

Death of Washington, 1799.

after peace negotiations, invited by France, were re-
Treaty with France. opened in the spring of 1800. From those negotiations came a treaty which cancelled the treaty of 1778, with all its obligations of alliance, but left the United States to indemnify its own citizens for
French spoliation claims, 1800. the French spoliations of the late war. The claims then arising were shamefully neglected for almost a century, no provision for their settlement being made until 1885.

174. John Marshall, Chief Justice. 1801–1835. In two branches of the government the Federalists lost power in the elections of 1800. In the third branch — the Judicial — they left a great jurist, John Marshall, of Virginia, appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Adams, in January, 1801. Mr. Marshall held that high office until 1835, during which long term his profound decisions on questions of constitutional law had a measureless effect. They went far toward establishing the Federal Union on that bed-rock of sovereign nationality which the Federalists sought. Marshall succeeded Hamilton in the true Federalist work.

175. Election of Jefferson and Burr. 1800. For reëlection, Adams received but 65 electoral votes, against 73 cast for Jefferson and the same number for Aaron Burr. The tie between Jefferson and Burr carried the election into the House of Representatives, which chose the former for President and the latter for Vice-President, as the voters of their party had intended; though some of the Federalists attempted to give the higher office to Burr.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

151. Inauguration of President Washington. — Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Inauguration of President Washington. 2. Character of the First Congress. 3. Leading measures of the First Session. Hunt, 168–169; Schouler, i. 81–105; McMaster, i. 533–534, 540–544; Hart, *Formation*, 141–143.

4. The first tariff law. McMaster, i. 544–552; Hunt, 169–174; Hildreth, iv. 65–91, 96–99; Schouler, i. 87–92. Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 21–22.

5. Debate on the slave trade. Hildreth, iv. 91–96; McMaster, i. 552–555; Schouler, i. 142–145; Hart, *Formation*, 146–147.

6. The three executive departments first instituted. 7. The Constitutional Amendments. Schouler, i. 93–96; Hildreth, iv. 101–108; McMaster, i. 555; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 61–72; Hart, *Formation*, 143–145; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 20–21.

RESEARCH. — 1. The President's Cabinet. Holst, *Const. Law*, 90–95; Bryce, i. ch. ix. 2. The executive departments of the Federal Government as now organized. *Congressional Directory* for the current year. 3. Reasons for the omission originally of a declaration of rights in the Constitution. Madison, *Letters*, i. 423–427; Hamilton, *The Federalist*, No. 84. 4. The Federal judicial system. Bryce, i. ch. xxii.–xxiii.

152. Hamilton's Report on the Public Debt and on Public Credit.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The argument of the report (text in MacDonald, ii. 46–58; Hamilton, iii. 1–45). 2. The debt of the late Confederation. — Where owed and in what forms and amounts. 3. Grounds of objection to full payment of claims at home. 4. Hamilton's plans and their success. Hunt, 179–182; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 85–96, 117–120; Gordy, i. 118–121; McMaster, i. 567–579; Schouler, i. 130–136; Hildreth, iv. 152–171, 206, 214–216; Holst, *United States*, i. 83–85.

5. The state debts. — Reasons for and against the assumption of them. 6. The bargain by which the assumption bill was carried through. 7. The just denunciation of it. Hunt, 182–200; Morse, *Jefferson*, 97–106; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 121–129; Hildreth, iv. 171–174, 206–216; Schouler, i. 136–142; Gordy, i. 121–128; Holst, *United States*, i. 85–89; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 23–24; Jefferson, vi. 172–174; Madison, *Letters*, i. 507–522.

153. The Slavery Question. — First Abolition Memorials.

Topics and References.

1. Memorials against slavery and the slave trade. — Report adopted by the House of Representatives (text in MacDonald, ii. 58–60). 2. Death of Franklin. Holst, *United States*, i. 89–94; Hildreth, iv. 174–205; Schouler, i. 145–150; Hart, *Formation*, 151–152.

154. First Census. — First Patent Law, etc.

Topics and References.

1. Acts mentioned. — Policy of the Patent Act. — Its importance. Hildreth, iv. 220–221; McMaster, i. 582–583; Schouler, i. 129–130.

2. Ratification of the Federal Constitution by North Carolina and Rhode Island. Hildreth, iv. 147–150, 209; Schouler, i. 127–128.

3. Population shown by the census of 1790. Hildreth, iv. 301.

Research. — How have the patent laws stimulated invention? Important results of American invention. *Celebration of the Beginning of the 2d Century of the American Patent System, 1891:* Addresses.

155. The National Bank Question.

Topics and References.

1. Philadelphia the temporary seat of government. 2. Hamilton's proposal of excise (text in MacDonald, ii. 61–66; Hamilton, iii. 95–105). 3. His project of a national bank, and his objects, financial and political (text in MacDonald, ii. 67–76; Hamilton, iii. 106–146; Hart, *Contemp's*, abr'g'd, iii. 276–281). 4. Its opponents and their objections. Madison, *Letters*, i. 528; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 96–104, 131–132; McMaster, ii. 25–32; Holst, *United States*,

i. 104–106; Schouler, i. 158–160; Gordy, i. 129–131; Hildreth, iv. 251–262; Hart, *Formation*, 150–151.

RESEARCH. — How would the national bank strengthen the organization of capital and credit in the country? White, *Money and Banking*, bk. ii. ch. i. and iv.

156. The Doctrine of "Implied Powers" in the Constitution.

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1. The constitutional argument against the national bank project. 2. Hamilton's reply to it. 3. His doctrine of "implied powers" and the division produced by it. 4. The "elastic clause" of the Constitution. 5. Results from the establishment of the bank. 6. Prosperity of the country. Jefferson, v. 284–289; Hamilton, iii. 249–251, iv. 104–138; Madison, *Letters*, i. 528, 546; Hunt, 201–204; MacDonald, ii. 76–98; Lalor, i. 199–200; Hildreth, iv. 262–267; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 104–106, 133–135; Gordy, i. 135–137; Schouler, i. 160–162.

RESEARCH. — Chief Justice Marshall on the rule by which the Constitution is to be construed. Marshall, *Writings* (case of Gibbons *v.* Ogden), 288–291; Magruder, 172–179.

157. Vermont and Kentucky admitted to the Union.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Previous history of Vermont. 2. Separation of Kentucky from Virginia. Hildreth, iv. 267–272; Schouler, i. 149–150.

158. Hamilton and the Policy of "Protection" to Home Industries.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Hamilton's report on manufactures: its recommendations (text in Hamilton, iii. 192–284; MacDonald, abr'g'd, ii. 98–112). 2. His renewed appeal to "implied powers" in the Constitution. 3. The policy of "internal improvements" toward which it led. 4. Outcome of the report. Elliott, 93–112; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 108–114; Schouler, i. 186–187; Hildreth, iv. 307–309.

RESEARCH. — Summarize the recommendations and argument of Hamilton's report.

159. Indian War. — Harmar's and St. Clair's Defeats.

Topics and References.

1. The two disasters. — General Wayne's ultimate success. McMaster, i. 593–603; ii. 43–47, 69–72; Schouler, i. 151–158, 191–197; Hildreth, iv. 281–287.

160. Reëlection of President Washington.

Topics and References.

1. Unanimity of the reëlection of Washington. — The opponent of Adams. McMaster, ii. 85–88; Schouler, i. 212–213; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 230–231.

161. The Arraying of Political Parties.

Topics and References.

1. Washington's non-partisan endeavor. 2. The measures which first divided parties, rallying them round Hamilton and Jefferson. 3. Changes from the former "Federalist" and "Anti-Federalist" parties. 4. The new subjects of contention. 5. Character of the Hamiltonian party. — Suspicions of its monarchical inclinations. 6. Democratic beliefs of Jefferson and his party. 7. Causes of the animosity between the two parties. Holst, *United States*, i. 80–82, 108–112; Gordy, i. 103–117, 132–158; Johnston, 26–28; Hunt, 204–214; Schouler, i. 165–177, 241–242; Hildreth, iv. 291–300, 331–357; Hart, *Formation*, 155–157; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 296–298; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 136–142; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 216–220; Morse, *Jefferson*, 111–123; Lalor, i. 612–613; Bryce, i. 638–643.

8. Injustice of the two parties to each other. 9. Tendencies and dangers in the extreme views of both. 10. Their needed checking and counter-checking of each other.

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488–489, and Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), ix. 373–376. 4. Difference between a centralized government and a centralized administration. Tocqueville, i. 107–112.

162. The French Revolution in American Politics.

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1. Early and later feeling in the United States concerning the French Revolution. McMaster, ii. 89–97, 308–310; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 136–144; Morse, *Jefferson*, 146–147; Gordy, i. 176–179; Hildreth, iv. 411–412; Hart, *Formation*, 157; Holst, *United States*, i. 107.

163. France and England at War. — "Citizen Genet."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Obligations of the United States under the alliance treaty of 1778 with France. 2. The difficult preservation of neutrality. 3. Attitude of the Anti-Federalists or Republicans, and conduct of "Citizen Genet." Hamilton, iv. 357–390, 393–406; Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), vi. 218–231, 371–393, 396–398; McMaster, ii. 97–141; Gordy, i. 179–200; Schouler, i. 242–256; Hildreth, iv. 412–440, 477–478; Holst, *United States*, i. 112–118; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 144–161; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 161–175; Morse, *Jefferson*, 147–165; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 30–33; Hart, *Formation*, 158–160; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 305–312; MacDonald, ii. 112–114.

RESEARCH. — Did the United States, in this case, fairly fulfil its treaty obligations to France? Madison, *Letters*, i. 651–654.

164. Enmity between Jefferson and Hamilton.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Resignation of Jefferson from the cabinet. 2. His party, newly named. 3. Retirement of Hamilton. Schouler, i. 202–212, 286–287; Hildreth, iv. 357–373, 453–457, 538; Morse, *Jefferson*, 162–165; Hamilton, iv. 293–305; Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), vi. 101–109. See, also, references under sect. 161.

165. Impending War with England. — Peace Mission of Chief Justice Jay.

Topics and References.

1. Exasperating conduct of England and France in their war with one another. 2. Rights of neutrals in dispute. 3. The right of search and impressment claimed by England. 4. Other causes of bitter feeling in the United States. 5. Washington's last effort for peace. McMaster, ii. 165–188; Schouler, i. 260–272; Gordy, i. ch. xiv.; Hildreth, iv. 481–489; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 165–176; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 33–36; Hamilton, iv. 519–532, 536–539, 549–557; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 312–314.

166. "Whiskey Rebellion" in Pennsylvania.

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1. Causes of special hostility to the excise in the mountain regions. 2. Vigorous suppression of the rebellion and the effect. Hamilton, iv. 575–604; v. 1–12, 16–26, 31–33, 38–54; McMaster, ii. 41–43, 189–203; MacDonald, ii. 130–135; Hildreth, iv. 498–516; Holst, *United States*, i. 94–104; Gordy, i. ch. xiii.; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 180–185; Schouler, i. 275–280; Hart, *Formation*, 163–164; MacDonald, ii. 130–135.

167. The Jay Treaty with England.

Topics and References.

1. Main provisions of the treaty (text in MacDonald, ii. 114–130). — Its inadequacy. 2. The rage against it in the United States. 3. Later reaction in its favor. Pellew, 301–317; McMaster, ii. 212–235, 245–256, 263–284; Hunt, ch. xxiii.; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 176–207; Holst, *United States*, ii. 122–128; Hildreth, iv. 539–564, 584–616; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 37–39; Gordy, i. ch. xv.; Schouler, i. 289–305, 307–314; Hart, *Formation*, 162–163; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 315–319; Hamilton, v. 106–137.

Research. — The speech of Fisher Ames in advocacy of the Jay Treaty. Ames, ii. 37–71.

168. Important Events in the West.

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1. Treaty with Spain. 2. Admission of Tennessee. 3. English delivery of western forts and opening of the Mississippi. Schouler, i. 307, 314–317; McMaster, ii. 284–287; Hildreth, iv. 569–570.

RESEARCH. — Importance to the western settlements of the free navigation of the Mississippi. Roosevelt, *The Winning*, iii. ch. iii.; F. A. Walker, *The Making of the Nation*, 110–112.

169. Retirement of Washington. — Election of John Adams.

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1. Washington's Farewell Address (text in Larned, *Ready Ref.*). 2. Circumstances of the election of Adams from one party, for President, and Jefferson from the other, for Vice-President. McMaster, ii. 289–307; Hildreth, iv. 685–691; v. 25–30, 42–45; Schouler, i. 327–335; Lodge, *Washington*, ii. 243–254, 270–274; Holst, *United States*, i. 132–137; Morse, *Adams*, 257–268; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 40–43; Hart, *Formation*, 164–165.

RESEARCH. — Summarize the topics of Washington's Farewell Address.

170. Quarrel and Hostilities with France.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Mistake of President Adams in keeping Washington's cabinet. Hart, *Formation*, 165; Schouler, i. 341–344.

2. Ill-feeling in France toward the United States. — Affront given. — Hostile acts. 3. Treatment of American envoys extraordinary. — The "X. Y. Z. Correspondence." 4. War feeling in the United States, but checked in France. — Naval engagements. Morse, *Adams*, 273–287, 291–305; Morse, *Jefferson*, 179–193; Schouler, i. 344–358, 373–392, 428–435, 439–444; McMaster, ii. 311–323, 344, 367; Holst, *United States*, i. 128–132, 138–142; Hildreth, iv. 645–684, 702–704, v. 45–63, 94–95, 125–159, 191–213, 220–223, 250–267, 304; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 44–46; Gordy, i. 265–312; Hart, *Formation*, 166–168; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 322–326.

171. The Alien and Sedition Acts.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Violence of party newspapers and pamphleteers. 2. High-handed measures of the Federalists (texts in MacDonald, ii. 137–148; Larned, *Ready Ref.*). 3. Cherished rights and liberties assailed. Gordy, i. ch. xix.; McMaster, ii. 389–403, 417–419, 424–427; Schouler, i. 392–403, 420–421; Hildreth, v. 213–217, 225–232; Lalor, i. 56–58; Hart, *Formation*, 168–170; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 47–48; Holst, *United States*, i. 142–143.

172. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Dangerous doctrine of "nullification" advanced by the Republicans. 2. Its expression in Kentucky, and more moderately in Virginia (texts in MacDonald, ii. 149–157; Larned, *Ready Ref.*). Holst, *United States*, i. 143–167; Lalor, ii. 672–677; Gordy, i. ch. xx.; Hunt, ch. xxvi.-xxvii.; Hildreth, v. 232–235, 272–277, 296–301; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 48–50; Hart, *Formation*, 170–171; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 329–331; Morse, *Jefferson*, 193–195; Schouler, i. 422–425; Benton, *View*, i. ch. lxxxvii., lxxxix.

173. Overthrow of the Federalist Party.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Causes of defeat to the Federalist party in 1800. 2. Effect of the death of Washington. 3. New treaty with France. 4. "French Spoliation Claims." Morse, *Adams*, 305–321; Schouler, i. 500–501; Holst, *United States*, i. 179–182; Gordy, i. ch. xxi.; Hildreth, v. 337–340, 321–331, 353–357, 386–389, 398–399, 414–418; Hart, *Formation*, 171–175; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 333–343; McMaster, ii. 452–454, 428–430, 527–529.

RESEARCH. — The "French Spoliation Claims." Wharton, *Digest*, ii. 714–728; Webster, iv. 152–178; Benton, *View*, i. 487–521.

174. John Marshall, Chief Justice.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Appointment of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the influence of his constitutional decisions. Ma-

gruder, ch. x.; Cooley, *et al.*, ch. ii.; Morse, *Adams*, 321–322; Schouler, i. 480.

RESEARCH. — The constitutional decisions of Chief Justice Marshall. Magruder, 182–201.

175. Election of Jefferson and Burr.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Circumstances of the election. Morse, *Jefferson*, 195–208; McMaster, ii. 497–527; Holst, *United States*, i. 168–177; Schouler, i. 480–488; Hildreth, v. 389–392, 402–408; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 52–54.

EXPANSION IN THE GREAT VALLEYS. 1800–1840.

CHAPTER IX.

THE YOUNG NATION HARASSED BY OLDER POWERS. 1801–1809.

176. The United States at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The census of 1800 showed the population of the United States to be 35 per cent. greater than in 1790, numbering 5,306,000, almost equally divided by the southern boundary line of Pennsylvania — the "Mason and Dixon's Line," so called, which came to be the line of division between free and slave States. But the white people of the north numbered 2,600,000, against 1,700,000 in the south. The south had added 200,000 to its slaves in ten years, while the north held 4000 fewer blacks in slavery than when the decade began. Of 36,000 slaves in northern States, 20,000 were in New York.

Free and slave population, 1800.

Pennsylvania was the most populous, and, on the whole, the most prosperous State. Philadelphia was the largest and finest city; but New York was making a rapid advance. In Washington, the new seat of federal government, just buildings enough had been erected to give Congress an unfinished place of meeting, and to shelter the officials and servants of the government in a rather comfortless way.

Something less than half a million people were now making homes in the wilderness west of the Alleghany Mountains, mostly spread along the banks of the Ohio and its southern branches, the greater number in Kentucky and Tennessee. The vast Northwestern Territory had received no more than 50,000 inhabitants at this time, and none of their settlements touched the lakes, except at the old French post of Detroit. It had been divided (May, 1800) between two territorial governments, one extending over what became, two years later, the State of Ohio, the other organized for the Territory of Indiana, which embraced what remained. Census-takers in the latter found less than 5000 white people to count. In the southwest a third Territory, named Mississippi, had been formed in 1798, in the region west of Georgia, claimed by that State.

Northwestern Territory.

Between the communities growing up in the valley of the Ohio and the older ones east of the mountains the intercourse, in trade or otherwise, was very slight; the interests common to them were few; there was little to bind them together, and much, apparently, to force them apart. Nature, by her channelling of their waterways (see Map I.), drew the valley people away from the east and the Atlantic, to seek their outlets of trade, their means of development, the satisfying of their ambitions, in the southwest and on the Gulf, where the Spaniards ruled. The roads, canals, and railways that would in time check this natural detachment of the valley from the coast were yet to come.

Interests of the west.

Those natural forces by the help of which man is now overcoming natural obstacles were scarcely known when the nineteenth century began. Steam was a servant just mastered and little tried. Watts had been building

steam engines of his final pattern for a dozen years; but, even in 1803, only five engines were known to be working in the whole United States.[1] William Henry, John Fitch, James Rumsey, Oliver Evans, and other inventive mechanics in America and Europe had been experimenting for a quarter of a century or more with boats propelled by steam; but six years were yet to pass before Fulton would realize their dream, by establishing a steamboat on the Hudson River (1807), making regular trips between Albany and New York.

Steam engines and steamboats.

A much simpler invention, but one of momentous consequence to the United States, had been perfected in 1793, when Eli Whitney constructed his machine, called a "gin," for separating the fibre of cotton from the seed. Cotton culture had been discouraged by the expensiveness of that necessary separation when done by hand. At the same time an almost unlimited demand for the fibre had been created in England, by inventions of machinery for spinning and weaving, by the organizing of the factory system, and by the use of steam power. Instantly, Whitney's "cotton gin" made it possible for southern planters in the United States to respond to the English demand. In 1790 there had been no exportation of cotton; in 1800 the value of the export was $5,700,000. From that time the production rose as fast as slave labor could spread it over the extreme southern States, and the value of slave labor was correspondingly raised.

Whitney's cotton gin.

Cotton culture and slavery.

This not only rooted the institution of slavery with new

[1] Mr. Henry Adams cites this statement from a report made in 1803 by Benjamin H. Latrobe, an eminent engineer. *Hist. of the United States during the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, i. 70.

fixity in those "Cotton States," as they came to be called, but gave it a new hold upon their neighbors, which profited by the rise in the price of slaves. As agreed in the framing of the Constitution, the importation of slaves from outside of the Union was to cease in 1808. Thereafter the plantations would depend for their labor on the home supply. Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky would then become sources of such supply, and a fresh interest in the perpetuation of slavery was given thereby to those States. The sentiment favorable to emancipation, which had been growing in them, was overcome, and the deplorable division of the States on the slavery question into two disputing and angry sections, marked off from each other by "Mason and Dixon's Line" and by the Ohio River, was soon a menacing fact.

Industrial causes of sectional division.

The sectional division had another cause; for industrial differences, between the agricultural south and the manufacturing, mercantile, maritime north, had been leading toward political differences since early colonial times. The northern States, especially those of New England, were drawn by their leading interests toward the doctrines of government which Hamilton and the Federalists worked out; while the very different interests of the southern States bent opinion in politics the contrary way.

177. The Political Change brought about by Jefferson's Election. 1800–1801. In Mr. Jefferson's view, the political change brought about by the defeat of the Federalist party and his own election, in 1800, "was as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form." In taking direction of the government he wished to make it, as he set forth in his inaugural address, "a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall

leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." "This," he said, "is the sum of good government." In a letter written the summer before his election he had defined his theory, as concerned the Constitution, thus: "That the States are independent as to everything within themselves, and united as to everything respecting foreign nations. Let the general government be reduced to foreign concerns only, and let our affairs be disentangled from those of all other nations, except as to commerce, which the merchants will manage the better the more they are left free to manage for themselves, and our general government may be reduced to a very simple organization, and a very unexpensive one." To conform the general government to this theory would assuredly have been a revolutionary change; but it was not brought about, as we shall learn, because of circumstances and dispositions in men that were too strong to be overcome.

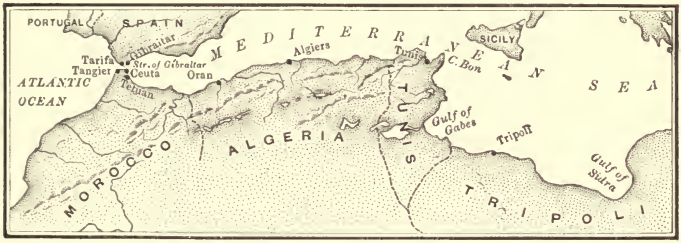
Jefferson's theory of the national government.

In the management of those foreign concerns to which he would restrict the general government, Jefferson expected to dispense with war, except in a commercial form. He believed that we could compel other countries to rectify wrongs done to us by withholding trade from them till they did so. "Our commerce," he said, "is so valuable to them that they will be glad to purchase it, when the only price we ask is to do us justice. I believe we have in our hands the means of peaceable coercion." This theory of the practicability of "peaceable coercion" was brought to trial presently by President Jefferson, and disappointed his hopes.

Theory of peaceable coercion.

178. The Tripolitan War. 1801–1805. Disbeliev-

ing in the necessity for war, the President took measures to cut down military and naval expenditure, and his cabinet officers, among whom were Madison in the State Department and Albert Gallatin in the Treasury, gave him hearty assistance to that end. But he and they were soon taught that they could not rid themselves of war and naval expenditure so readily as they had planned. The country was struck by an enemy who had no trade to be embargoed, and who could feel nothing but hard



THE BARBARY STATES.

blows. This was the Pacha of Tripoli, one of the so-called Barbary States of north Africa, all of which states had been practising piracy and levying black-mail on the rest of the world for four hundred years. Europe had been willing to pay the pirates for letting its commerce alone, rather than unite in an undertaking to break up their nests. So far, the United States had followed the European example; but the demands of Tripoli became insolent beyond endurance in the spring of 1801, and Commodore Dale was sent out to the Mediterranean with a squadron of three frigates and a schooner, to fight the corsairs and blockade their ports. He did both with good effect; but the war he opened went on for four years, keeping the small American navy in active and expensive use.

The Barbary pirates.

179. The Louisiana Purchase. 1801–1803. In the summer of 1801 it was discovered that Napoleon, ruling France with the title of First Consul, had obtained from Spain, in the previous October, a secret treaty ceding back to France that great territory west of the Mississippi called Louisiana (including also New Orleans on the eastern side of the river), which the Spanish crown acquired in the peace arrangements of 1763 (see sect. **86**). Napoleon was then projecting a restoration of the colonial empire of France, and his scheme was most alarming to the United States. If Spanish control of the mouth of the Mississippi and Spanish occupation of the western bank of the river had seemed intolerable to the American inhabitants of the valley dependent on it, how much more so must the transfer of that control from decaying Spain to an aggressive power like France appear?

Spanish cession of Louisiana to France, 1800.

Jefferson realized the seriousness of the situation, and when the time came to make plain declarations, he did not hesitate to say that the United States would never submit to the presence of French authority in New Orleans. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," he wrote in April, 1802, "seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." This he wrote to Livingston, our minister to France, and Napoleon was to be told what he had said. For Jefferson to meditate an alliance with England against France was no trifling thing.

Jefferson's plain words.

It happened at the moment that France and England were at peace, and the warning had no effect; but peace lasted for only a year. Within that year Napoleon failed disastrously in an undertaking to subjugate and reënslave

the revolted negroes in Hayti, and his colonial schemes wore no promising look. Now that he had determined to reopen war with England, he threw those schemes suddenly aside. President Jefferson had been pressing proposals for the purchase of New Orleans, and of the Floridas, which were supposed to have been included in the cession from Spain to France, and Mr. Monroe had been sent to assist Mr. Livingston in negotiations on that line. When Monroe reached Paris, in April, 1803, he found the First Consul already treating with Livingston for the sale of all Louisiana, including New Orleans. As for the Floridas, they were still held by Spain. The bargain was closed quickly, at a price about equivalent to $15,000,000, and a treaty signed on the 2d of May (but dated April 30), which conveyed to the United States all that France had ceded to Spain in 1763 and that Spain had ceded back to France in 1801 (see Map XV.).

The bargain with Napoleon, 1803.

By nothing else ever done in the name of the United States, from the presidency of Washington to the election of Abraham Lincoln, was the Federal Union so impressed with the stamp of sovereign nationality as it was by this act, which expanded the bounds of its government from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains; and yet it was the act of a party which questioned nationality in the Union and sovereignty in its government, and it was opposed by a party which had never lost an opportunity before to magnify both. Jefferson did not shut his eyes to the inconsistency of the transaction with his theories of the Federal Constitution, nor hesitate on that account to do what every practical consideration of public interests required. He confessed frankly that he could not find authority in the Constitution for a purchase of territory, and his wish was to have it

Party inconsistencies.

sanctioned by a constitutional amendment; but his political friends dissuaded him from raising the question, lest the fickle and faithless master of France should change his mind before the transfer of territory had been made. Generally, on their part, they found authority for what they wished to do as readily as the Federalists had done. They argued as eagerly for "implied powers" in the Constitution and against "strict constructions" as they had argued to the contrary a dozen years before. All except the President; he was unconvinced; but he yielded to his party.

The constitutional question.

With like contradiction of their own doctrines, the Federalists in general opposed the ratification of the treaty and the legislation needed to carry it out. Hamilton approved the acquisition; but most of the Federalists of New England — the remaining stronghold of the party — were alarmed by the prospective loss of weight and influence for their own small section in an expanded Union, and fought the treaty with all their power. They maintained that new territory could not be incorporated in the Union, not even by an ordinary constitutional amendment, if a single State withheld assent. Some of them emphasized their opposition with threats of secession, and attempted afterward to make the threat good.

Attitude of Federalists.

The treaty was ratified and the needed legislation for organizing government in the new domain passed. The latter created a "Territory of Orleans," embracing what is now the State of Louisiana, and a "District of Louisiana," covering the whole remainder of the purchase. The District was first attached in government to the Territory of Indiana, then organized as the Territory of Louisiana, and finally had its name changed to the Territory of Missouri, in 1812. The

Organization of government.

boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase were ill-defined, and the American government, for many years, pressed claims to West Florida, as forming a rightful part of it. Lately the French archives have shown that that claim was not good, but that, according to the understanding between France and Spain, which they concealed, the southwestern boundary of the Purchase should have gone beyond the watershed of the Mississippi and taken in the Texas region, to the Rio Grande.

Undefined boundaries.

180. Secession plotting. — Aaron Burr's Intrigues. — Burr and Hamilton Duel. 1803–1804. The extreme Federalists of New England, who had threatened secession, were not slow in starting a plot to that end. Apparently there were few who took part in the plot; but it had one most deplorable result. The project of the conspirators aimed at a separate union of northern States, of which it was necessary that New York should be one. To secure New York, they conspired with Vice-President Aaron Burr, an adroit and unscrupulous politician, who had won his way to importance by disreputable schemes. In the presidential election of 1800 Burr had been guilty of base intrigues to cheat Jefferson out of the presidency, and the leading Republicans were now treating him in consequence as he deserved. To revenge himself, he entered into a secret arrangement with the New England secessionists to help them carry New York into a league of northern States. He was to be brought forward for governor of New York by the Republicans of his own faction, and the conspirators were to give him what they could of the Federalist vote. All went well as planned, except the election; Burr failed to receive the needed votes. Hamilton had opposed him strenuously, and was reported to have expressed opinions which gave Burr a pretext for demand-

Separate union of northern States.

ing the barbarous satisfaction of the duel. As duelling was then sanctioned by much influential opinion, Hamilton felt called upon to meet him, though determined to fire his own pistol in the air. The meeting took place at Weehawken, July 11, 1804, and Hamilton received a wound from which he died the next day. One of the greatest of men in American history had been slain by one of the meanest and worst.

Death of Hamilton, 1804.

181. Presidential Election. 1804. The discomfiture of Burr and its dreadful sequel stopped the plotting of the secessionists for some years, and the Federalist party was weakened further by what came to light. In the presidential election of 1804 Jefferson was reëlected by 162 electoral votes against 14, and George Clinton, of New York, for Vice-President, received the same vote. The mode of election had been changed by a constitutional amendment which came into force in September of that year, and the votes of the electors for President and Vice-President were then, for the first time, distinctively cast.

182. Burr's Conspiracy in the Southwest. 1805–1807. Though indicted in New Jersey for murder and shunned almost universally, Burr served out his vice-presidential term, which ended March 4, 1805. In those last months of his official stay in Washington it has been found that he opened treasonable conferences with the British minister there, and with certain delegates from New Orleans, who had been sent to complain of the form of government under which they were placed. To both, it seems, he proposed a scheme for separating the western States and Territories from the American Union, and making a conquest of Mexico, to form an empire, of which he intended, no doubt, to be the head. In a cautious way his project was discussed that winter

with others, and there appears to be little doubt that he won some important adherents, among them General James Wilkinson, general-in-chief of the army and lately made governor of Louisiana. Wilkinson was a life-long intriguer, — a man of Burr's own kind. He had been of the Gates coterie in the Revolution, and was prominent in the Conway Cabal (see sect. **122**).

General Wilkinson.

In a long journey made during the summer and fall of 1805, through Kentucky and Tennessee and down the Mississippi to New Orleans, Burr appears to have found many who were ready to promise help to his scheme. The inhabitants of New Orleans and its district, mostly French, were dissatisfied with their arbitrary transfer to the United States, and more so because refused immediate citizenship and self-government, which they claimed to be their right. In Kentucky and Tennessee there was much jealousy of eastern influence in the government, and the spirit of lawless adventure was easily roused. Altogether, there was enough to encourage an adventurer as desperate as Burr. In the summer of 1806 he went west again, and soon afterward there was a mustering of men and boats, provisions and munitions, at points on the Ohio and Cumberland rivers, supposedly in preparation for a filibustering attack on the Spanish colonies of Florida or Mexico, or both. Something at this juncture alarmed Wilkinson, and he became suddenly active against Burr, sending information to Washington and taking measures at New Orleans to frustrate his plans. Thereupon (November 27, 1806) the President issued a proclamation commanding the arrest of all concerned, and Burr fled into the wilds of the Mississippi Territory, attempting to reach the Gulf coast. He was

Discontent in New Orleans.

Burr's arrest and trial, 1806-1807.

captured in February, and brought to trial for treason, at Richmond, in August, 1807. On technical grounds he escaped punishment by law, but he suffered as Cain suffered during the remainder of a long life. Some of Burr's confederates were ruined by the consequences of their folly; the one most pitied was Harman Blennerhasset, an Irish gentleman of wealth and culture, who had a beautiful home on an island in the Ohio River, near Marietta, which he allowed to become the rendezvous and centre of Burr's plot.

Harman Blennerhasset.

183. End of the Tripolitan War. 1805. The war with Tripoli (often referred to as "the Barbary war," and sometimes as "the Algerine war") was ended in the summer of 1805, by a treaty under which the United States paid a moderate ransom for American captives in the Pacha's hands. It was not a triumphant conclusion; but a creditable example of resistance to the insolent pirates had been set. For four years the war had been giving a training to officers and seamen in the small American navy which proved valuable at a little later time, and it furnished an effective warning to the neighboring Barbary despots in Morocco, Tunis, and Algiers.

184. Renewed Offensiveness of British Conduct. 1803–1805. Renewal of war between Great Britain and France had renewed the overbearing conduct of the British government, in its treatment of neutrals and neutral trade and in its impressment of seamen from American ships. Formerly its admiralty courts had conceded that goods actually imported from a French or Spanish colony into the United States, with an actual landing and payment of American duties, must be treated as neutral goods and exempted from capture if reshipped to France. Now, early in 1805, it reversed that rule, and began captures which exceeded a hundred in number before the year closed.

185. Prosperity of the Country. — Expansion of National Sentiment. 1803–1806. Notwithstanding the enormous losses thus inflicted, the ocean trade, almost wholly in American hands, was richly profitable; the shipping interests of New England and New York were having a prodigious development; foreign capital was flowing into the country, to share the advantages offered by its position, its productive resources, and its neutral flag; and general prosperity prevailed. The recent expansion of national territory was awakening a livelier sentiment of nationality than had existed before. The founding of claims for a further expansion, to the Pacific, was already under way; for the Rocky Mountains were being crossed, in 1805, by an expedition which President Jefferson had sent, two years before, to explore the Missouri to its source. The explorers, Captains Lewis and Clark, pushed on and planted their flag in that Oregon region which no other nation could claim on valid grounds.

Exploration of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1805.

The revenue of government in this flush time of trade rose far above its frugal expenditure, and promised an extinguishment of public debt much sooner than had been planned. In his annual message of 1806 the President set forth the happy condition of the treasury, managed with rare ability by Secretary Gallatin, and recommended measures of Congress to apply the expected surplus "to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers." He ended his recommendation by saying: "I suppose an amendment of the Constitution, by consent of the States, necessary, because the objects recommended are not among those enumerated

Jefferson's enlarged views of government, 1806.

in the Constitution, and to which it permits the public moneys to be applied." This was a conception very different from that expressed five years before, when he wrote: "Let the general government be reduced to foreign concerns only." That he should have been brought to contemplate so great an enlargement of the functions of the general government, even by constitutional amendment, gives us interesting evidence of the rapid nationalizing of political ideas that was going on in the American mind.

186. Abolition of the African Slave Trade. 1807. In the same message to Congress President Jefferson called attention to the approach of the time (1808) when the Constitution required the importation of slaves from foreign sources to be stopped, and recommended legislation to that end. It was accordingly made unlawful to bring any slave into the country from abroad after the last day of the year 1807, and heavy penalties were laid upon violations of the act.

187. Destruction of Neutral Trade. — British Orders in Council and Napoleonic Decrees. 1806–1807. The pleasant prospect, contemplated in 1806, of surplus revenues to become applicable to purposes of education and improved means of communication in the country, was not enjoyed long. It depended on the keeping of some part of the profitable advantages of neutrality, in the deadly struggle between England and the ruler of France; and that struggle was reaching a stage where no real neutrality would be suffered to exist. Napoleon (now a self-crowned emperor) had become absolutely the master of France and of half Europe besides, and he used them as he pleased for his merciless purposes of war. The end of 1806 found Spain, Italy, Austria, all Germany, and the Netherlands

Napoleon's power; England's struggle with him, 1805-1807.

obeying his commands, and Russia being humbled to alliance with him by dreadful defeats. England alone of the great powers had been able to withstand the terrible warrior, and she only because his armies could not reach her island while her navies kept possession of the sea. His last hope of crossing the narrow Strait of Dover perished in 1805, when the combined fleets of France and Spain were destroyed by Lord Nelson at Trafalgar. Then the conflict became a strange one, between land power and sea power, each beyond the other's reach. How could they pursue their war? Only by striking at the commerce on which both depended for all that gave them their power. So they began, with naval blockading on one side and military coast-guarding on the other, to do, if possible, by ruin and starvation, what they could not do with bullets and shells. A double motive impelled England to this system of commercial warfare. While weakening Napoleon, it would likewise check the startling growth of the American carrying trade, in rivalry with her own. She opened her undertaking in May, 1806, by an "order in council" which declared that all the coasts, ports, and rivers of western Europe, from Brest to the Elbe, should be considered as in a state of blockade, with the consequence that any vessel bound for any part of that coast and intercepted at sea by British cruisers would be subject to capture as prize of war. This was what came to be known as a "paper blockade," there being little or no attempt to block the entrance to ports and rivers by naval forces actually on the watch. The sole object was to multiply the prizes which British cruisers might catch at sea. Napoleon, then lording it at the Prussian capital, retaliated in November by an edict, styled the Berlin Decree, which not only declared the British islands to be similarly blockaded,

Commercial warfare.

Paper blockading.

— on paper, — but forbade all commerce in British merchandise, and commanded the seizure of such merchandise wherever found within the wide stretch of his authority, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic Sea. His power was so great that he planned a "continental system" of commercial war, for the ruin of British manufactures and trade. The British government retorted in January and November, 1807, by new orders, aimed at the suppression of all maritime commerce of France and her allies, except as it might be licensed and taxed at British ports. Napoleon met this by a decree from Milan, in December, commanding the seizure of any vessel that had submitted to the orders of his foe.

British orders and Napoleonic decrees, 1805-1807.

So far, then, as the warring powers could enforce their orders and decrees, neutral commerce — which had come to be mainly American commerce — was destroyed; but the evasion was extensive, and American shipping was not driven from the sea.

188. British Search and Impressment. 1807. The country was angered less by the English orders and French decrees than it was by the persistent impressment of seamen from American ships. With increasing insolence, British officers were pursuing that high-handed practice, even in American waters, at the very entrances of the most important ports. The climax of insult in the matter was reached in June of that year, when the Chesapeake, an American frigate, just outfitted at Norfolk and wholly unready for battle, was overhauled as she sailed out of Chesapeake Bay by a British frigate, the Leopard, whose captain demanded permission to search for three deserters, claimed to have been received into the Chesapeake's crew. On refusal, three broadsides were poured into

The Leopard and the Chesapeake, 1807.

her, killing three and wounding eighteen men. Having nothing in readiness, she returned only a single shot, which one of her officers fired with a coal from the cook's galley; and her flag was struck. The three men claimed as deserters were taken, and proved to be Americans, wrongfully impressed before, and now styled deserters because they had escaped from their captivity. A fourth man was found hidden on board, who turned out to be a British deserter in fact.

189. An Experiment in "Peaceable Coercion." — The Embargo Act. 1807–1809. Since Lexington there had been no excitement in the country so great as this unexampled outrage produced. A few Federalists still justified British conduct in everything; but they were very few. Almost universally there arose a cry for war; yet war did not follow. It did not follow for two reasons: (1) the indifference of the southern States to maritime and commercial interests, which centred almost wholly in the north; and (2) the extraordinary influence of President Jefferson, whose unbelief in war as a remedy for national wrongs overcame all contrary feelings in the public mind.

Influence of President Jefferson.

President Jefferson believed, as we have seen, in the practicability of extorting justice from other nations by simply refusing to have dealings with them when their conduct was wrong. He was able to persuade his country to act on that belief. He persuaded Congress to reduce the American navy to a fleet of little gunboats, for harbor defence only, and to stop the construction of larger war-vessels, for ocean service, even while British cruisers were driving the merchant shipping of the country from the sea. In April, 1806, he obtained authority from Congress to prohibit the importation of British goods, as a measure of peaceable coer-

Non-importation act, 1806.

cion; but the operation of the act was deferred for twenty months, while abortive attempts to negotiate with the English government were made once more. On the 14th of December, 1807, the non-importation act was carried into effect, and nine days later it was followed by a more heroic measure. This latter was an embargo act, which forbade the exportation of anything from the United States to any foreign port, ordering every foreign ship in American waters to depart and every American ship to be held fast. In a word, it ended what British orders and Napoleonic decrees had left of American trade; and that suppression of the external commerce of the country was persevered in till the end of Jefferson's term, while New England went frantic over the idleness of its ships, and the cotton and tobacco of the south had no sale.

Embargo Act, 1807.

The rage of the shipping interest against the embargo was fierce. The old Federalist belief that Jefferson and his party were under French influence in whatever they did came to life and did mischief again. Apparently there were whispers of secession in some quarters once more, and the governor of Canada sent an agent, named John Henry, into New England, on a mission of intrigue. Three years afterward Henry sold the information he had gathered to the government of the United States; but his papers named nobody and disclosed no really treasonable act.

John Henry papers.

Everywhere, as the months of stagnation in the country dragged on, disgust and disaffection grew bitter; for no signs of any effect on the conduct of France or England appeared. Napoleon welcomed the embargo as a blow to England, and he helped to enforce it by orders of his own; while his minister at Washington confessedly used influence to have it pro-

Failure of the embargo.

longed. The British West Indies were half starved by it, and England suffered from the pinching of her supplies of cotton and food; but high prices in the food market were agreeable to the landlords who ruled England, and they were not in haste to remove the cause.

The experiment of "peaceable coercion" had failed. The President himself was compelled at the end to admit that "it costs more than war";[1] though he still believed that it would have wrung justice from England in a bloodless way if an absolute embargo could have been enforced. But the influence of his opinions was no longer what it had been. His party suffered in popularity with him, and most likely it would have been beaten in the presidential election of 1808, if the opponents of the embargo policy could have acted together. As it was, their division gave the presidency to Mr. Madison, the candidate of his choice; but the Federalists swept New England, and cast 47 electoral votes, against 14 in 1804.

Peaceable coercion more costly than war.

Election of Madison, 1808.

190. Substitution of Non-intercourse for the Embargo. 1809. Nevertheless, the administration was strong enough in Congress to carry, in January, 1809, an act enlarging its powers for the enforcement of the embargo; and this proved to be more than the country would endure. The town meetings of New England were soon speaking as they spoke in 1774, so threateningly, and with so much concurrence of feeling in the middle States, that Congress was seized with a panic which the supporters of the embargo could not resist. The latter were beaten in an attempt to prolong the measure till June, and a bill was passed which ended it on the day of Jefferson's retirement, March 4, 1809. The alternative

[1] *Writings*, ed. by Washington, v. 433 (not contained in Ford's edition).

of war was not accepted, however, nor was the idea of peaceable coercion cast aside. For the embargoing of all foreign trade there was substituted non-intercourse with England and France. This was done by an act which excluded the ships of those countries from American waters, and forbade the importation of goods from either, until one or both gave evidence of respect for neutral rights.

191. Political Effects. The political effects of the embargo policy had been singular enough. Substantially, the parties exchanged constitutional doctrines, each taking up what, formerly, it had denounced; for the extreme powers exercised in the Embargo Act, and in arbitrary measures to enforce it, were drawn from the Constitution by Federalistic constructions, and constitutional arguments against them were borrowed by Federalists from the old logic which the Republicans had thrown aside.

The parties exchange doctrines.

192. Territorial Reorganization. 1805–1809. In February, 1809, an act was passed which detached the region now forming the States of Illinois and Wisconsin from the Territory of Indiana, and organized it as the Territory of Illinois. The region between Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan had previously, in 1805, been separated from Indiana to form the Territory of Michigan.

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176. The United States at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

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2. The southwestern and northwestern settlements. 3. Early

differences of interest between communities of the Ohio valley and those of the Atlantic coast. Roosevelt, *The Winning*, iii. ch. iii.; iv. ch. v.

4. Beginnings of the steam engine and of steam navigation. H. Adams, *History*, iv. 134–135; Thurston, ch. iii. and v.

5. Whitney's "cotton gin" and its effects on slavery. Holst, *United States*, i. 351–353; Rhodes, i. 25–27.

6. Other causes of a sectional division of the States.

177. The Political Change wrought by Jefferson's Election.

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3. His plans of "peaceable coercion" as a remedy for national wrongs. H. Adams, *History*, i. 214; Schouler, ii. 99–100.

178. The Tripolitan War.

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179. The Louisiana Purchase.

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1. Cession of Louisiana from Spain to France. 2. American feeling on the subject. — Stand taken by the President. 3. Sale of the territory by Napoleon to the United States (text of treaty in MacDonald, ii. 160–165). Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), viii. 145; H. Adams, *History*, i. ch. xiii.–xvii.; ii. ch. i.–iii.; Roosevelt, *The Winning*, iv. 261–282; Hunt, ch. xxix.; Schouler, ii. 40–58; Gordy, i. 421–424; Morse, *Jefferson*, 231–247; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 363–372; Gilman, 75–93.

4. The constitutional question involved. 5. Partisan inconsistencies. 6. Attitude of extreme Federalists. Jefferson, *Writings*

(Ford ed.), viii. 247; H. Adams, *History*, ii. ch. iv.–v.; Holst, i. 183–194; Gordy, i. 425–432; Roosevelt, *The Winning*, iv. 282–284; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 373–380; Morse, *Jefferson*, 247–258.

7. Organizations of government in the new territory. H. Adams, *History*, ii. ch. vi.; McMaster, iii. 13–32; Gordy, i. 432–438.

RESEARCH. — The more important effects and results that have come from the Louisiana Purchase. *Am. Hist. Ass'n Reports* (Davis), 1897, 149–160; *Papers* (Robertson), i. 253–290.

180. Secession Plotting. — Burr's Intrigues. — Burr and Hamilton Duel.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Disunion plotting with Burr. 2. Discomfiture of the plotters. — Duel and death of Hamilton. H. Adams, *History*, ii. ch. viii.; McMaster, iii. 47–54; Schouler, ii. 68–74; Gordy, i. ch. xxvi.; Holst, *United States*, i. 194–199; Hart, *Formation*, 188–189; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 245–250; Johnston, *Am. Orations* (Nott), i. 117–128.

181. Presidential Election.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Weakening of the Federalist party. — Reëlection of Jefferson. 2. Constitutional change in the mode of election. Morse, *Jefferson*, 263–271; H. Adams, *History*, ii. 200–206; Schouler, ii. 74–75.

182. Burr's Conspiracy in the Southwest.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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183. End of the Tripolitan War.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Treaty concluded. 2. Important training of the American navy in the war. McMaster, iii. 200–208; Schouler, ii. 75–77, 104–106, 124; H. Adams, *History*, ii. 425–436.

184. Renewed Offensiveness of British Conduct.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Reversed ruling of British courts. 2. Increased captures of American merchantmen. H. Adams, *History*, ii. ch. xiv.-xv.; iii. 43–53, 80–102, 197–203; Schouler, ii. 108–112, 114–118, 132–133; McMaster, iii. 225.

185. Prosperity of the Country. — Expansion of National Sentiment.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Profit and loss in the ocean carrying trade. McMaster, iii. 225–226.

2. Exploration of the Rocky Mountain region and beyond. Roosevelt, *The Winning*, iv. ch. vii.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 381–384.

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188. British Search and Impressment.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The cry for war, and why war did not follow. 2. President Jefferson's gunboat policy. 3. The non-importation act and the embargo act (text in MacDonald, ii. 176–177). 4. Effect of the embargo in the United States. 5. The John Henry intrigue. 6. Failure of the embargo to affect the conduct of England or France. 7. Injury to Jefferson's influence. H. Adams, *History*, iv. ch. vii.–xii., xiv.–xv., xx.; Schouler, ii. 176–186, 194–207 ; Gordy, i. ch. xxxii.–xxxiii. ; McMaster, iii. 276–309 ; Holst, *United States*, i. 201–215 ; Hildreth, vi. 36–44, 48–58, 69–79, 84–93, 96–113 ; Parton, *Jefferson*, ch. lxvi. ; Morse, *Jefferson*, 296–312, 316–317 ; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 403–406.

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190. Substitution of Non-intercourse for Embargo.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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207–220; Holst, *United States*, i. 215–225; McMaster, iii. 318–336.

191. Political Effects.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Reversing of former political doctrines by both parties. Hildreth, vi. 140–143; McMaster, iii. 197–198.

192. Territorial Reorganization.

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CHAPTER X.

SECOND WAR WITH ENGLAND. 1809–1817.

193. Mr. Erskine's Blunder. — President Madison misled. 1809–1810. When Madison took the reins of government from Jefferson, on the 4th of March, 1809, the outlook in foreign affairs was dark; but an unexpected brightening appeared soon on the British side. The British minister then at Washington, Mr. Erskine, received instructions which led him to agree with President Madison that the orders in council should be withdrawn, and that the President, by proclamation, should end the interdictions of commerce with Great Britain, but should continue them against France. This arrangement was announced and the President's proclamation issued on the 21st of April, to the unspeakable joy of the country, and three months of a busy revival of trade ensued. It took that length of time for the report of what Mr. Erskine had done to reach England and for the action of his government on it to be reported back. The message when it came was a blow. Erskine had flagrantly exceeded his instructions; his agreement, on which the President had proclaimed a reopening of commerce with Great Britain, was repudiated, and the orders in council, instead of being annulled, were only replaced by a new order, declaring a paper blockade of the whole of Italy, Holland, and France.

Erskine's agreement repudiated.

The situation was now worse than before. Angry

feeling on all sides was increased. Erskine was recalled, and a new British minister, Mr. Jackson, notorious amongst the English diplomats for offensive ways of doing business, was sent in his place. Non-intercourse was proclaimed again; but nobody could feel satisfied with its effect. The futile measure was maintained, however, until the 1st of May, 1810, when Congress, not knowing what else to do, restored freedom to commerce, but authorized the President, if England withdrew her orders or France her decrees before the 3d of the next March, then in that case to prohibit intercourse with the nation that kept them in force.

Act of May 1, 1810.

Mr. Jackson, the new British minister, arrived in September, 1809, and was not slow in making himself as disagreeable as he was expected to be. Before many communications had passed between him and the government, he had offered such insults that the latter would receive nothing further from his hands. This produced no special consequences; but some foolish Federalists in northern cities made great social efforts to show Mr. Jackson that his conduct was approved.

Minister Jackson.

194. The Trickery of Napoleon. 1809–1811. In the behavior of Great Britain at this time there was really less of practical hostility to the United States than in the doings of the despotic master of France. The embargo act had suited the aims of Napoleon's "continental system;" but he was angered by the non-intercourse act, which interdicted trade with France, and not with her subject-allies, Holland, Naples, and Spain. That offence to him was increased by the mistake which reopened commerce with Great Britain during three busy months. He had begun,

Napoleon's anger at non-intercourse act.

therefore, a new series of spoliations, more outrageous than his earlier ones, not only ordering seizures and confiscations of American vessels and cargoes in Spanish and Neapolitan ports, but treating their crews as prisoners of war. In March, 1810, he issued secretly a general decree, known as the Decree of Rambouillet, which swept into his net all American ships within his reach, and when his brother Louis, whom he had made king of Holland, failed to carry out the decree in Dutch ports, he drove him from the throne and annexed Holland to France. The plunder secured was so great that it appears in Napoleon's own estimate of his revenue for the year as amounting to $6,000,000, and other estimates have made it more nearly ten millions than six.

The Decree of Rambouillet, 1810.

The act passed by Congress on the 1st of May, 1810, repealing the non-intercourse act, but providing for the revival of it against one or the other of the powers at war, according to their behavior, suggested a characteristic piece of trickery to Napoleon's mind. He gave notice (August 5, 1810) to the American minister at Paris "that the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that after November 1, they will cease to have effect, — it being understood that in consequence of this declaration the English are to revoke their orders in council, and renounce the new principles which they have wished to establish; or that the United States, conformably to the act you have just communicated, cause their rights to be respected by the English."[1] To one of his own ministers he said at the same time, "We commit ourselves to nothing," — which was true. His scheme was to push the United States into hostilities with England,

Promised revocation of French decrees, 1810.

[1] H. Adams, *History of the United States*, v. 255.

while he should do as he pleased in the matter of the decrees. The American government was not critical of the notice received from France; it assumed that the Berlin and Milan decrees would be revoked as promised, on the 1st of November, and that revocation meant restitution of the property seized. Accordingly, on the 2d of November President Madison proclaimed the revocation, and interdicted commercial intercourse with Great Britain, to take effect on and after February 2, 1811. But weeks and months passed without bringing anything from France to show that the decrees were not in force, and no questioning could draw a distinct answer as to what had been or would be done. Publication of Napoleon's correspondence has made it known since that, as late as April, 1811, he was ordering his ministers "to gain time, leaving the principles of the matter a little obscure until we see the United States take sides."

President Madison's proclamation, 1810.

Napoleon's treachery.

195. Occupation of West Florida. — Louisiana admitted as a State. 1810–1812. In another quarter the foreign relations of the country were complicated at this time. Since 1808 the people of Spain had been struggling to break the yoke which their imbecile court allowed Napoleon to lay upon their necks. The whole Spanish colonial empire was in consequent disorder, and revolutionary movements in most of the American provinces were taking place. In the district of West Florida (see Map IV.) that adjoined New Orleans many Americans had settled, and they found the opportunity good for a revolution of their own. Accordingly, in the summer and fall of 1810, they seized the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge, held a convention, declared independence, and applied for annexation to the United States. President Madison would not

Revolution in West Florida, 1810.

recognize their revolution, but deemed it proper, in such circumstances, to take possession of the region, which the United States had been claiming since 1803 (see sect. **179**). It was occupied, accordingly, by Governor Claiborne, of the Orleans Territory, in December, 1810. Congress approved the President's action, and passed, at the same time, an act authorizing the inhabitants of the Territory of Orleans to adopt a constitution preparatory to admission as a State. The new State thus formed received the name Louisiana, and was admitted to the Union in April, 1812. West Florida as far eastward as Pearl River was annexed to it; the remainder, to the Perdido, was declared to be a part of Mississippi Territory, though possession was not taken until 1813.

The State of Louisiana, 1812.

196. Federalist Opposition to the Admission of Louisiana. 1811. The proposed admission of Louisiana revived a threatening spirit in the New England Federalists, who denied the constitutional right of the existing Union to add new States to itself (see sect. **179**). Their then leader, Josiah Quincy, of Boston, declared in debate (January 14, 1811): "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation; and, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, — amicably if they can, violently if they must."

Speech of Josiah Quincy, 1811.

197. Dissolution of the United States Bank. 1811. In home affairs an agitating question was raised by the approaching expiration of the charter of the United States Bank. The bank had proved useful to the business of the country and to the government, and Mr. Gallatin, the able Secretary of the Treasury, was most

anxious for its preservation; but jealousy and distrust of it in the Republican party were rooted too deeply to be overcome. Congress refused to extend the charter, and the bank in due time was dissolved.

198. Feeling for and against War with England. 1811. Meantime, relations with England had not been changed seriously by the fresh interdiction of trade. Still obstinate on the subject of the orders in council, and contending with truth that Napoleon's decrees had not been revoked, the British government was showing, nevertheless, a more conciliatory disposition, by sending an agreeable minister to Washington, and offering a partial reparation of the outrage on the Chesapeake. Of actual provocations to war, so far as concerned the old grievances, there were less from England in 1811, and more from France, than there had been at any time within the past five years; but an outbreak of Indian hostility, occurring that summer in the Indiana Territory, was supposed to have been instigated by emissaries from Canada, and became a new charge against England in the long account of wrongs. Tecumseh, or Tecumthe, a Shawnee chief of ability, assisted by his brother, styled the Prophet, had renewed the undertaking of Pontiac, to form a league of tribes for resistance to the advance of the white race. The territorial governor, William Henry Harrison, with a force of regulars and volunteers, broke up the movement in a sharp battle fought on the Tippecanoe (November 7, 1811). Tecumseh, who was absent at the time, found his project frustrated, and took refuge in Canada, giving color to the belief that he had acted under an influence from the authorities there. This caused some fresh excitement of anti-English feeling; and so did an encounter that happened

Tecumseh's threatening league, 1811.

Battle of Tippecanoe, 1811.

in May, between the American frigate President and a British sloop of war, the Little Belt. Exactly how or why they came to exchange shots, and which fired first, was never made clear. The Little Belt, a smaller vessel than the President, suffered badly in the short fight.

Affair of the Little Belt, 1811.

The temper of the country does not seem to have been touched very sharply by these events, and the influences opposed to war were strong. Despite all losses and restrictions, the merchant shipping of the United States was enjoying a more profitable activity than it was likely to have in a state of declared war with England, the powerful mistress of the seas. It was principally a New England interest, and it confirmed New England Federalism in leanings toward Great Britain, in detestation of Napoleon and France, and in dread of the party in power. On the other hand, the south and the new western States had no maritime interest, and adhered to the old feelings of the Revolution, against England and in favor of France. Pennsylvania was with the south in those feelings, and New York leaned the same way.

War feeling, north and south.

199. The "War Hawks" in Congress. — Henry Clay. 1811–1812. The situation was one in which slight influences could turn the scale for or against war. The decisive influence came from a group of young men who appeared in the House of Representatives that year. We may almost say that it came from a single member of the group, its eloquent leader, Henry Clay. Clay was a Virginian by birth, but had settled in Kentucky after finishing his studies in law, and had risen quickly to distinction in that State. Twice, already, he had filled vacancies for a few months in the Senate of the United States; now, in 1811, he

came to a seat in the House of Representatives, and took command, as it were; was made Speaker, and ruled the House as no one in the Speaker's chair had ruled it before. Along with brilliancy and power as an orator of the popular type, he had the personal force, the enthusiasm, and the self-confident, high spirit of a natural leader of men. He was hot with the anger of Kentucky over the humiliations of the country, especially those coming from British hands; and he found a number of young members more than ready to join him in a demand for war. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was a prominent member of the group.

"Speaker" Clay, 1811.

The vehemence of these "war hawks," as they were styled, soon produced a great effect. Congress passed bills for increasing the army, for raising volunteers, and for calling out the state militia, and some very inadequate provision for strengthening the navy was made; but the controlling idea of the war party was to prepare for a conquest of Canada, and they deprecated the thought of much resistance to the great power of England at sea. Events proved them to be utterly mistaken in their forecast of the projected war.

200. War declared. June 18, 1812. The peace party included many Republicans, conspicuously John Randolph, a Virginian of erratic genius; but the war party, helped by the disclosure at this time of the John Henry correspondence (see sect. **189**), had its way. President Madison, with reluctance, began the action it desired, on the 1st of April, 1812, by recommending an embargo for sixty days, which was understood to be preliminary to a declaration of war. Congress enacted the embargo for ninety days; but, on the 1st of June, at the end of sixty days, a

Embargo for ninety days.

message from the President recommended that war be declared. A bill embodying the portentous declaration passed the House on the 4th, the Senate on the 17th, and was signed by the President on the 18th. It was carried by southern and western votes, against the opposition of New England and New York, and at a moment when the principal reason for war was removed; for news came in July that the British government had withdrawn the offending orders in council, and had announced the fact in Parliament one day before the American declaration of war. Furthermore, it had sent proposals for an armistice and a renewal of negotiations, in case hostilities should have been begun; but it gave no sign of willingness to abandon impressments from American ships, and the authorities at Washington refused the truce. Defence of "sailors' rights" became then the single object of the war.

Orders in council withdrawn, June 17, 1812.

201. Opening Disasters. — Hull's Surrender at Detroit. — Battle of Queenstown Heights. 1812. The nation was undertaking a war which large masses of its people resented or disapproved; for which its economic condition and its military organization were wretchedly prepared; and to conduct which its officers of experience were few and old. That the sanguine expectations of the "war hawks" would be disappointed was an almost inevitable result. The disappointment began with the first invasion of Canada, undertaken from Detroit, in July, by a Revolutionary veteran of good record, General William Hull. The British authorities in Canada had acted more vigorously than the Americans, and Hull found them readier to strike at him than he at them. He fell back to his fort at Detroit, was followed and beleaguered by British troops

Hull at Detroit.

and the savage warriors of Tecumseh, and surrendered to them, August 16. The unfortunate general was afterward disgraced from the army by court-martial, and only saved from a death sentence by the President's compassion; but later opinion lays blame for the disaster quite as much on his military superiors as on Hull.

The next attempt to enter Canada had no better success. It was made on the 13th of October from Lewiston, on the Niagara River, below the Falls, by forces under General Van Rensselaer about 6000 strong. A footing on the opposite heights of Queenstown was gained by about 900 of Van Rensselaer's

MAP OF NIAGARA FRONTIER IN 1812–14.
Reproduced, with a few adaptations, from a "Gazetteer of the Province of Upper Canada," published in 1813.

men; but reinforcements came to the British, while none reached the Americans, and the latter, in a helpless position, had to lay down their arms. The British commander, General Brock, received a mortal wound in the fight. The officer who won most distinction in this battle was Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott.

202. Naval Triumphs. 1812. While disaster attended the American operations of war on land, the little navy of the United States was winning laurels at sea. Its total count of war-ships was but 18, large and small, only three of which were ready for service when hostilities began; and against it was a navy of not less than a thousand ships. But, ship for ship, in single encounters, the American vessels proved to be generally better in build, stronger in armament, more accurate in gunnery, more skilful in seamanship, and the English were astonished and dismayed by the results of the sea-fighting that occurred.

The Constitution and the Guerrière, 1812.

On the 19th of August the frigate Constitution, Captain Isaac Hull, captured the British frigate Guerrière, after a battle of two hours. On the 18th of October the British sloop-of-war Frolic was taken by the American sloop Wasp; but both were caught soon after by a bigger British man-of-war. Seven days later the frigate Macedonia surrendered to Captain Decatur, commanding the United States; and the year's record of naval victories was closed on the 29th of December, when the Constitution destroyed the Java in a battle off the coast of Brazil. Meanwhile, a swarm of commissioned privateers was pillaging British commerce almost as heavily as British cruisers pillaged that of the United States.

The United States and the Macedonia, the Constitution and the Java, 1812.

203. Second Disaster in the West. 1813. Before

the year closed Commodore Chauncey had put a small naval squadron afloat on Lake Ontario, and Lieutenant Elliot had gone to Lake Erie to do the same; for little could be done toward recovering the ground lost in the west until full control of the lakes was secured. The western command had been given to General Harrison, and late in the fall he began a movement from Indiana for the recovery of Detroit; but 900 of the best of his troops, under General Winchester, proceeding too carelessly in advance, were overpowered in January by British and Indian forces, on the river Raisin, not far from what is now the city of Monroe. Four hundred perished, including sick and wounded, who were given up to the tomahawks of the savages; the survivors were made prisoners of war. This fresh disaster checked the movement till the following year.

Winchester's defeat, January, 1813.

204. Reëlection of President Madison. 1812. Excepting the repulse of a British attack on Ogdensburg, there had been nothing but disaster in the military operations of the first year. In naval warfare there had been nothing but success; and, probably, it was the naval victories that saved the war party from overthrow in the presidential election that fall. Mr. Madison was reëlected, defeating a combination of dissatisfied Republicans and Federalists, who voted for DeWitt Clinton of New York. Daniel Webster was one of the Federalist congressmen elected in New Hampshire that year.

205. Naval Occurrences on Salt and Fresh Water. 1813. On salt water the naval triumphs of 1812 were not equalled in the following year. Only two small armed vessels were taken from the enemy, while a sore reverse was suffered, the unfortunate frigate Chesapeake succumbing to the Shannon (June 1), in a fight that was no chance encounter, but a duel, deliberately

planned. Captain Bloke of the Shannon had challenged Captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake, and waited for him outside of Boston Bay. The two ships were about equal in men and guns, but the Shannon had the better trained crew, and reduced her antagonist in fifteen minutes to a helpless state. Captain Lawrence, wounded mortally, cried, "Don't give up the ship," but it was a vain appeal.

The Chesapeake and the Shannon, June, 1813.

By this time enough of the enormous navy of England was concentrated on the American coast to blockade the principal harbors and shut in most of the American fleet; but privateers, built and rigged to outsail every enemy afloat, were numerous at sea and actively at work.

British blockade.

It was on the inland fresh waters that the navy now distinguished itself, and the hero of the year was Captain Oliver H. Perry, detailed to command on Lake Erie and the upper lakes. At Presque Isle, now Erie, Perry constructed two brigs and three schooners in great haste, and brought five more small vessels from the Niagara, at Buffalo, to make up his fleet. With these, on the 10th of September, off the islands near the mouth of Sandusky River, he encountered a squadron of six vessels which Captain Barclay, of the British navy, had fitted out with equal difficulty at the western end of the lake. The battle was obstinate on both sides. Perry's flagship, the Lawrence, became so injured and unmanageable, and the carnage on her was so fearful, that the surviving officers could do nothing but strike their flag; but the indomitable commander had left the ship before that occurred, — had transferred himself to another vessel, the Niagara, on whose deck he won the fight.

Perry's victory on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813.

206. Recovery of Detroit and the West. — Futile

Campaigning on the New York Frontier and the St. Lawrence. 1813. "We have met the enemy and they are ours" was Perry's famous despatch to General Harrison, for whose movement on Detroit this conquest of the lakes cleared the way. Both Harrison and Perry made haste to Detroit River, from which the British forces and Tecumseh's Indians retreated together, through Canada, making their way to the Thames River and up that stream. Harrison pursued and overtook them near Moravian Town, a few miles above Chatham. In the battle fought there (October 5), Tecumseh was killed, his followers were scattered, three quarters of the British troops were captured, and the conquest of western Canada, for the time being, was complete.

WESTERN LAKE ERIE IN THE WAR OF 1812.

Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813.

On the New York frontier there was much activity, with nothing but momentary results. The little town of York, capital of Canada West, now grown into the city of Toronto, was captured, and its public buildings were burned, — an act of vandalism which General Dearborn, the American commander, disclaimed and denounced. Fort George, near the mouth of the Niagara, was taken, but the garrison escaped, and drove back a pursuing force (at Stony Creek) with heavy loss.

Burning of York.

Meantime, the important naval station at Sackett's Harbor was exposed to attack and nearly lost. It was saved by the capable energy of Jacob Brown, a New York militia officer, who won a general's commission in the regular army by that service, and was advanced not long afterward to the chief command on the northern frontier. Nothing was done to make use of the positions gained at the western end of Lake Ontario, but all possible forces, even Harrison's, were drawn eastward for an expedition down the St. Lawrence, to capture Montreal. The expedition commanded by General Wilkinson (of former notoriety in connection with Burr, see sect. **182**) failed miserably, and was abandoned at an early stage, after an ignominious engagement known as the battle of Chrystler's Farm. Then the British, more promptly than the Americans, returned their forces to the neglected Niagara frontier. In December they recovered Fort George, crossed the river, surprised the important Fort Niagara, and proceeded, with their Indian allies, to ravage the whole American shore of the river. They burned the village of Buffalo, in retaliation for some equally barbarous destruction by the American garrison which retreated from Fort George.

General Jacob Brown.

207. The Creek War. 1813. Late in the summer of 1813 the Creek Indians, in Mississippi Territory, formerly half won to the projects of Tecumseh, and freshly stirred up by both English and Spanish emissaries, rose against the white settlers and committed a horrible massacre at Fort Mims (August 30). General Andrew Jackson, of the Tennessee militia, was put in command of forces sent against them from that State, and carried on an energetic campaign for seven months, completely breaking the power of the tribe.

208. Fall of Napoleon. — Its Effect on the War in

America. 1814. At the opening of the year 1814 there was not much promise in the prospects of the war, nor did the prospects brighten as the year advanced. The military despotism of Napoleon was tottering to its fall. Half a million of Germans, Russians, and Austrians were in northern France, moving irresistibly upon Paris, while the British army of Wellington fought its way across the Pyrenees from Spain. On the last day of March the victorious allies entered Paris; on the 4th of April the abdication of Napoleon was signed. The forces of Great Britain were then free to be turned upon the United States.

The allies in France, 1814.

209. Last Attempt against Canada. — British Advance to Lake Champlain. — Macdonough's Naval Victory. 1814. Before the effects of this great change in circumstances were felt, one last attempt to carry the war into Canada was made. General Jacob Brown was in command, with General Winfield Scott among his brigadiers. Early in July Brown crossed the Niagara from Buffalo and took Fort Erie, which commanded the entrance to the river from the lake (see Map on page 341). Thence he advanced down the river to Chippewa, near Niagara Falls, where a sharp engagement occurred (July 5). The enemy retreated to Fort George, and Brown followed; but they were reinforced, and he was not, and he found it necessary to draw back. At Lundy's Lane, so called, near the Falls, he made a stand, and there, on the 25th of July, a desperate battle was fought, in which both Brown and Scott received serious wounds. The slaughter, nearly equal in the two armies, was very great. Both claimed a victory, but the gain belonged to the English, since the Americans retired to Fort Erie and were besieged there within a few days. The siege and defence of the

Battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814.

fort, for nearly two months, were notable incidents of the war. In the end the besiegers were baffled, but the heroic defence had been fruitless; the works were destroyed and abandoned, and the American forces came back to their own soil.

There was no longer any thought of a conquest of Canada; the war had become one of defence against powerful attacks. An invading army *from* Canada had advanced to the head of Lake Champlain, and a squadron of small vessels and gunboats was in preparation to coöperate with it, in a movement toward the Hudson, on the old route of Burgoyne. Commodore Thomas Macdonough prepared a similar but weaker squadron to oppose the advance, and waited for it in Plattsburg Bay; while General Macomb held a fortified position near Plattsburg with scarcely 2000 American troops. On the 11th of September the invading forces made their simultaneous attacks by lake and land, and were defeated in both. Their invasion was brought to a sudden end. Mr. Roosevelt, in his "Naval History of the War of 1812," ranks Macdonough's exploit above every other in the war, and says of him that "down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history."

Battles of Plattsburg, September 11, 1814.

210. Raids on the Atlantic Coast. — Capture and barbarous treatment of Washington. 1814. The Atlantic coast was now suffering, not only from a close blockade, but from ravaging attacks, especially in Chesapeake Bay and farther south. In August a strong force of veteran British troops landed in Patuxent River, Maryland, and marched to Washington, meeting only a feeble resistance at Bladensburg (August 24), from volunteers and militia, who were easily put to flight. The national capital was taken; the un-

Capture of Washington, August 24, 1814.

finished capitol building, the President's house, all but one of the other government buildings, and many private dwellings were burned, in retaliation, it was said, for the destruction of public buildings at York. The occurrence was shameful to both nations: to the English as an act of deliberate barbarity on the part of a commanding officer; to our own as an exhibition of feebleness in the government which guarded its own seat in so negligent a way. The Secretary of War, General Armstrong, was removed in consequence, and his department was conducted for a time by the Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe.

MARYLAND IN THE WAR OF 1812.

The capture of Washington was followed a fortnight later by an attack on Baltimore; but that city was saved by the stout defence of Fort McHenry, at the entrance to its port. Through the night of September 14 the

fort was bombarded heavily by the British fleet, and the sight of its flag, still floating at sunrise on the ramparts, inspired a young Baltimorean, Francis Scott Key, to write the song of "The Star Spangled Banner."

Attack on Baltimore, September 14, 1814.

211. Disheartening State of the Country. — New England Disaffection. — The Hartford Convention. 1814. The affairs of the country were now in a most disheartening state. Its military forces were on the defensive everywhere; the few vessels of its navy were mostly shut up in blockaded ports; the resources of its treasury seemed exhausted almost hopelessly; its commerce was nearly extinct; outside of New England the banks had stopped payments in specie, and coin had disappeared; distress and discontent were increasing, and the New England disaffection was taking a serious tone. Individually, a large part of the New Englanders had done their part patriotically in the war; Massachusetts had furnished even more than her share of recruits to the army; but officially the attitude of the dominant Federalists had been obstructive throughout. Several of the States had refused to obey calls for their militia; banks and capitalists were deterred by strong influences from subscribing to national loans; the Massachusetts legislature adopted resolutions, in February, 1814, that were wholly in the spirit of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 (see sect. **172**). A suspicion, which lacked proof, that the blockading fleet off New London had been signalled to from shore with blue lights, gave rise to the name "Blue-Light Federalists" for the anti-war party as a whole.

New England dissatisfaction with the war.

In the fall of 1814 Massachusetts voted money to support a state army of 10,000 men, and invited her New

England neighbors to send delegates to a convention which met at Hartford, December 15. Only Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were officially represented, and the extremists among the delegates appear to have been checked by moderate men. The only known action of the convention, in a secret session of three weeks, was a published report which demanded certain amendments of the Federal Constitution, and recommended the holding of another convention, "to decide on the course which a crisis so momentous might seem to demand." What ultimate action was contemplated has been always a question in dispute; but the men of the Hartford Convention were looked upon as conspiring secessionists, and that stigma was on them to the end of their lives. So far as disloyalty to the Union had arisen in New England, it expired then. Peace came unexpectedly, so soon after the Hartford Convention adjourned that all the feelings represented in it were swept away.

Hartford Convention, December, 1814.

212. Negotiations at Ghent. — The Treaty of Peace. 1814. Since the 7th of August, 1814, commissioners from the United States and Great Britain had been negotiating at Ghent. Their meeting was the remote consequence of an offer of mediation made by the Russian government in September, 1812. President Madison had accepted the offer, and sent Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard to act with John Quincy Adams, our minister to Russia; but when those gentlemen reached Russia, they found that Great Britain had declined the offer. Soon afterward, however, the British government made known its willingness to discuss terms of peace directly with representatives of the United States; whereupon Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were commissioned to join Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard at Ghent, where the con-

ference was to be held. Three English commissioners met them, and parleyings went on for more than four months, with small hope of success till near the end. At first the British commissioners demanded part of Maine, and the setting apart of nearly the whole of the old Northwestern Territory, along the lakes and to the Mississippi, to be a wide belt of neutral land, given up to Indian tribes. These demands were so emphatically refused, and the American commissioners showed such readiness to break up the conference and go home, that more reasonable instructions came from London to the gentlemen on the other side. With all her advantages in the war, England was most anxious for peace. She was weary of war; the situation in Europe was still precarious, and her commerce was badly broken by the American privateers. Hence the American commissioners, by stout insistence, secured better terms in the end than the condition of their country gave them reason to expect. But the treaty signed on the 24th of December, 1814, contained no mention of the naval searches and impressments that had been the chief provocation to war. The question about them was settled by being dropped; for the English stopped practising what they still held to be their right. Other important questions, relating to the Newfoundland fisheries and the navigation of the Mississippi, were postponed for future settlement; and so the treaty was scarcely more than an agreement that matters between the two nations should be as they were before the war. There was little to show for the 30,000 lives it was estimated to have cost the country, and the hundred millions, or nearly, that it had added to the national debt.

British demands.

Terms of the treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814.

213. Battle of New Orleans. 1815. Unfortunately,

the news of peace did not reach America in time to prevent the bloodiest battle of the war, fought a full fortnight after the treaty was signed. A formidable expedition against New Orleans, from Jamaica, had reached Louisiana in the latter part of December, and had been making slow approaches to the city, where General Jackson, the energetic Tennesseean, held command. After much cannonading of the breastworks behind which Jackson had placed his men, the British commander, General Pakenham, ordered an assault. It was repulsed by so murderous a fire from the rifles of the backwoodsmen of the west that more than 2000 of the assailants fell. General Pakenham was among the killed, and his successor in command made a cautious retreat.

Expedition from Jamaica.

Protected by their works, the total loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was only 71. News of this remarkable victory went through the country almost simultaneously with the despatches from Ghent. It made General Jackson the principal hero of the war.

214. War with Algiers. 1815. Before the year closed, the country had new cause to regard its little navy with pride. The Dey of Algiers had become insolent and piratical again, and needed to be chastised. As promptly as possible after the settling of peace with England, Commodore Decatur was sent with a strong squadron to perform that task. It was done so effectually that the Dey signed a treaty in June, on Decatur's deck, surrendering his captives, paying indemnities, and renouncing all claim in future to a tribute of gifts. It was the last of our troubles with the pirates of the Barbary coast.

215. Final Decay and Dissolution of the Federalist Party. One of the consequences of all that had occurred

was the disappearance of the Federalist party within the next few years. Its unpopular temper (see sect. **161**) and the disloyal attitude of some among its leaders toward the Union and the national government were among the causes of its dissolution; but these were not all. In reality, it had been superseded by its opponents, who had taken into their own hands and were carrying out the nationalizing aims for which the party of Hamilton was formed. Broad constructions of the Constitution and strong claims for the general government were not being disputed any longer. A little later those disputes would be revived, as we shall see, but meantime the Federalists had lost their footing as an opposition party, and had no ground to stand upon, after the grievances of the war were cleared away. Their organization fell to pieces, and they strayed into other political camps. In the presidential election of 1816 they cast but 34 electoral votes, from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware, for Rufus King, of New York. James Monroe, who had been Secretary of State under Madison since 1811, and acting Secretary of War during some months in 1814–15, was chosen president by 183 votes.

Cause of Federalist weakness.

216. Protective Tariff. — United States Bank. — Internal Improvements. 1816. The extent to which Hamiltonian doctrines and measures were now accepted in the Jeffersonian party was shown in the last year of Madison's administration, by the adoption of an avowedly protective tariff, by the creation of a new national bank, and by the passage through Congress of a large appropriation for improving the navigation of rivers and building roads and canals. For eight years past, non-intercourse, embargo, and war had been shutting out foreign goods and giving home

Demands for protective tariff.

manufactures the most effective "protection" they could possibly have. When that was taken away by the return of peace, the manufacturers cried aloud for the protection of a higher tariff, and Congress acted upon their appeal. Between the interests of the makers and the interests of the consumers of things the former carried the day, as they have done ever since. Singularly enough, the champions of the protective policy arose in the non-manufacturing south, Calhoun and Clay in the lead, while Webster and others from New England opposed it with voice and vote. New England cared less at the time for her manufactures than for her shipping interests, which languished after the war.

New England's attitude.

The appropriation for internal improvements was proposed by Calhoun, and passed by a small majority, but vetoed by Madison, who held with Jefferson that an amendment of the Constitution was needed first. This question raised one of the issues on which new party lines were to be drawn.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

193. Mr. Erskine's Blunder. — President Madison misled. 1809–1810.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Agreement with the British minister repudiated in England. 2. Non-intercourse proclaimed again. — The repealing act of May 1, 1810. 3. Conduct of the new British minister, Mr. Jackson. McMaster, iii. 339–362; H. Adams, v. ch. iii.–vi.; Schouler, ii. 313–317, 320–323; Hildreth, vi. 165–179, 183–194, 196–207; Quincy, 195–204; Gay, 283–289.

194. The Trickery of Napoleon.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Hostility of Napoleon. — His increased spoliations. 2. His promised revocation of decrees. 3. President Madison's consequent proclamation. 4. Subsequent conduct of Napoleon. H. Adams, v. ch. vii.–xiv., xvi., xviii.; McMaster, iii. 362–369, 391–399, 408–411; Madison, *Letters*, ii. 508–511, 518–520, 523–525; Quincy, 226–235; Hunt, 310–313; Schouler, ii. 334–344, 362–364; Hildreth, vi. 214–223, 232–234; Gay, 289–300, 315–319.

195. Occupation of West Florida. — Louisiana made a State. 1810–1812.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Revolutionary movement in part of West Florida. — Possession taken by the United States. 2. State organization of Louisiana. — Division of West Florida. McMaster, iii. 369–375, 378–379; H. Adams, v. 305–315, 319–325; Schouler, ii. 345–348; Hildreth, vi. 223–226.

196. Federalist Opposition to the Admission of Louisiana.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Speech of Josiah Quincy. Quincy, 205–218; Schouler, ii. 348–349; H. Adams, v. 325–327; McMaster, iii. 375–378; Hildreth, vi. 226–228; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 410–414.

197. Dissolution of the United States Bank.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Refusal to renew the charter of the bank. H. Adams, v. 327–337; McMaster, iii. 379–390; Schouler, ii. 350–353; Hildreth, vi. 211–212.

198. Feeling for and against War with England. 1811.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Relations with England in 1811. 2. Schemes of the Shawnee chief Tecumseh. — Supposed complicity of the English. — Battle of Tippecanoe. 3. Affair of the "Little Belt." 4. Feeling at the

north, and at the south and west. H. Adams, vi. ch. i.–v.; Schouler, ii. 357–360, 365–370; Hildreth, vi. 242–248, 251–259; McMaster, iii. 528–536, 402–406, 412–423.

199. The "War Hawks" in Congress. — Henry Clay. 1811–1812.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The group of "war hawks." — Clay, Calhoun, and their associates. 2. The plans of the war party. Schouler, ii. 345, 371–374; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 67–83; McMaster, iii. 427–441; H. Adams, vi. 122–153; Holst, *United States*, i. 225–230; Hildreth, vi. 259–260, 262–287.

200. War declared. June 18, 1812.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Action of President and Congress (text in MacDonald, ii. 183–192). — Embargo, followed by war. 2. Sectional character of the vote for war. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 83–85; McMaster, iii. 444–452, 456–458; H. Adams, vi. ch. viii.–xi.; Holst, *United States*, i. 230–240; Hunt, ch. xxxi.; Clay, i. 182–194; Schouler, ii. 374–394; Hildreth, vi. 290–306, 313–325; Madison, *Letters*, ii. 535.

3. British orders in council withdrawn one day before the American declaration of war. 4. American refusal to reopen negotiations. 5. The one object for which the war, finally, was fought. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 87–88; Gay, 319–320; Hildreth, vi. 343–351; H. Adams, vi. ch. xiii.; Schouler, ii. 406–409; McMaster, iv. 1–8.

RESEARCH. — British views of the occasion of the war. James, vi. 112–115.

201. Opening Disaster. — Hull's Surrender at Detroit. — Battle of Queenstown Heights. 1812.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Disadvantages of the United States in the war. 2. General Hull's expedition and his surrender. 3. Attempt to enter Canada at Queenstown. H. Adams, vi. ch. xiv.–xvi.; McMaster, iii. 541–549, 556–560; iv. 8–13; Schouler, ii. 394–401; Hildreth, vi. 335–343, 357–359; Clarke (on Hull), ch. ii.–iv.

RESEARCH. — Views of the opponents of the war. Hildreth, vi. 319–325.

202. Naval Triumphs. 1812.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Comparison of British and American navies. 2. The principal sea fights of 1812. 3. Privateers. Roosevelt, *Naval War*, ch. ii.–iii.; H. Adams, vi. ch. xvii.; vii. ch. xiii.; McMaster, iv. 70–91; James, vi. 203–218, 115–202; Hildreth, vi. 364–372, 397–399; Schouler, ii. 402–406; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 414–417.

203. Second Disaster in the West. 1812.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Naval preparations on the lakes. — Their importance. 2. Harrison's movement to recover Detroit, and its disastrous beginning. McMaster, iv. 19–30; H. Adams, vii. ch. iv.; Schouler, ii. 409–412.

204. Reëlection of President Madison. 1812.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The combination against Madison. — His reëlection. H. Adams, vi. 412–414; McMaster, iv. 191–203; Hildreth, vi. 375–377; Schouler, ii. 409–412.

205. Naval Occurrences on Salt and Fresh Water. 1813.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Capture of the Chesapeake by the British frigate Shannon. — Death of Lawrence. 2. Blockade of Atlantic ports, with most of the American fleet shut in. 3. Perry's victory on Lake Erie. Roosevelt, *Naval War*, ch. v.–vi.; H. Adams, vii. ch. xi.–xii., and 115–127; McMaster, iv. 91–99, 30–38; Schouler, ii. 434–437, 425–426; James, vi. 275–324; Hildreth, vi. 420–426, 430–431, 434–437.

206. Recovery of Detroit and the West. — Futile Campaigning on the New York Frontier and the St. Lawrence. 1813.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Effect of Perry's victory on western military operations. 2. Retreat of British from Detroit River. — Pursuit by Harrison. —

Battle of the Thames. — Death of Tecumseh. H. Adams, vii. ch. vi. ; Hildreth, vi. 437–438 ; McMaster, iv. 38–41.

3. Campaign on the New York frontier. — Partial burning of York. 4. Defence of Sackett's Harbor. — General Jacob Brown. 5. Abortive expedition against Montreal. 6. British successes and ravages on the Niagara frontier. H. Adams, vii. ch. vii.–viii. ; McMaster, iv. 41–54 ; Hildreth, vi. 410–411, 416–420, 439–445 ; Schouler, ii. 426–430.

207. The Creek War. 1813.

Topics and References.

1. Rising of the Creeks. 2. General Jackson's campaign against them. H. Adams, vii. ch. ix.–x. ; McMaster, iv. 156–173 ; Hildreth, vi. 446–450, 477–480 ; Schouler, ii. 430–434.

208. Fall of Napoleon and its Effect on the War in America. 1814.

Topics and References.

1. The alliance which overthrew Napoleon. 2. British forces set free for use in America. Seeley, *Napoleon*, 143–210 ; Hildreth, vi. 490–492.

209. Last Attempt against Canada. — British Advance to Lake Champlain. — Macdonough's Naval Victory. 1814.

Topics and References.

1. Chippewa. — Lundy's Lane. — Fort Erie. 2. Naval and military victories at Plattsburg. — Commodore Macdonough. H. Adams, viii. ch. ii.–iv. ; McMaster, iv. 56–69 ; Hildreth, vi. 489, 492–498, 514–517 ; Schouler, ii. 447–449 ; Cullum, ch. vi. ; Roosevelt, *Naval War*, 375–399.

210. Raids on the Coast. — Capture and Barbarous Treatment of Washington. 1814.

Topics and References.

1. Battle of Bladensburg and capture of Washington. 2. Attack on Baltimore. — The song of "The Star Spangled Banner." Roosevelt, *Naval War*, ch. vii. ; H. Adams, viii. ch. v.–vi. ; McMas-

ter, iv. 121–155; Cullum, ch. vii.; Hildreth, vi. 483–488, 499–513, 519–520; Schouler, ii. 449–456.

211. Disheartening State of the Country. — New England Disaffection. — The Hartford Convention. 1814.

Topics and References.

1. The military situation and the financial condition. H. Adams, viii. ch. viii.–x.; Hildreth, vi. 524–529, 556–557.

2. Conduct of Federalists in New England. 3. The Hartford Convention and its report (text in MacDonald, ii. 198–207). H. Adams, viii. ch. i. and xi.; Holst, *United States*, i. 240–272; McMaster, iv. ch. xxviii.; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 78–85; Hildreth, vi. 465–473, 531–535, 545–554; Hunt, ch. xxxiii.; Schouler, ii. 458–476; Quincy, 356–358; Lodge, *Cabot*, ch. xi.–xiii.

212. Negotiations at Ghent. — Treaty of Peace. 1814.

Topics and References.

1. Circumstances which brought about the negotiation. 2. First demands of the British commissioners. 3. The terms of peace agreed upon (text in MacDonald, ii. 192–198; Larned, *Ready Ref.*). J. Q. Adams, ii. ch. viii.; iii. ch. ix.; Schurz, *Clay*, 99–125; Morse, *J. Q. Adams*, 75–98; H. Adams, vii. ch. ii. and xiv.; ix. ch. i.–ii.; McMaster, iv. 256–277; Schouler, ii. 417–419, 442–445, 477–484; Hildreth, vi. 401, 491–492, 529–530, 544, 566–570; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 426–429.

213. Battle of New Orleans. 1815.

Topics and References.

1. Expedition from Jamaica against New Orleans. 2. The unnecessary battle and its fearful slaughter. 3. Prestige of Jackson. Parton, *Jackson*, ch. i.–xxiii.; Cullum, ch. viii.; Roosevelt, *Naval War*, ch. x.; H. Adams, viii. ch. xii.–xiv.; McMaster, iv. 173–190; Schouler, ii. 485–491; Hildreth, vi. 557–565; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 422–425.

214. War with Algiers. 1815.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Renewed trouble with Barbary pirates. 2. Decatur's expedition and its results. McMaster, iv. 351–356; Hildreth, vi. 577–578.

215. Final Decay and Dissolution of the Federalist Party.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Causes of the disappearance of the party. 2. Its doctrines not now disputed. 3. Presidential election of 1816. H. Adams, ix. 92–103, 122–124; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 85–87; Hildreth, vi. 594–601; Schouler, ii. 512–513; Johnston, *Am. Orations*, i. 99–101.

216. Protective Tariff. — United States Bank. — Internal Improvements. 1816.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Hamiltonian doctrines and measures approved by Jeffersonians. 2. The protective tariff of 1816 advocated in the south and opposed in New England. 3. New United States Bank (text in MacDonald, ii. 207–212). 4. Appropriations for internal improvements vetoed by Madison. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 126–138; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 2–12, 14–18; Schouler, ii. 495–499; Gordy, ii. 349–354, 356–357; McMaster, iv. 309–314, 319–340, 410–415; H. Adams, ix. 105–118, 131–134; Hildreth, vi. 582–592, 617–618; O. L. Elliott, 163–194; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 434–440.

CHAPTER XI.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY FINDING INDEPENDENCE. 1815–1828.

217. The New Spirit in the Country. — The Democratic Development. 1815–1828. Though the causes of the War of 1812 with England were not formally removed, they disappeared at the close of the war. The fall of Napoleon, putting England and France at peace, had ended the state of things from which those causes came. The same event ended the mischievous influence in American politics which, for almost a quarter of a century, had ranged one party on the side of England and the other on the side of France. It ended, too, the humiliations which the young, undeveloped republic had been suffering so long at the hands of the contending powers in Europe, with serious harm to its public spirit and national pride.

Effects of peace in Europe.

The effects which came to the United States from the return of general peace, after Napoleon fell, were immediate and very great. A more independent spirit — a more unitedly American spirit — arose; the attention of the people was given more closely to their home affairs; and because those effects became marked after the peace with England, some have ascribed them to the war, calling it "our second war of independence." In reality, there was a second and completer acquisition of American independence at this time, won partly, perhaps, by the second war, but it came to us more as a

consequence of the general peace restored to Europe and to the world at large.

The effects of that event were increased by influences now acting on the whole country from the young communities of the west. Only four new States had been formed in the Mississippi valley; but the Territories beyond them were filling with population so fast that two more were knocking already for admission to the Union, and five came in within the next five years. The circumstances of pioneer life, simple and wholesome, if rude, in all that primitive domain, were developing a spirit more purely democratic and more entirely American than had appeared anywhere before. A really unclassed society had never existed in the old States in their most primitive days, but it was formed by the conditions of western settlement (wherever slavery did not enter), because land-ownership, in some degree, was almost universal, wage-working rare, and the social footing of all men substantially the same. Until new commonwealths began to be formed in the interior of the country, quite removed from old influences, the political system of the American Union had been republican, but not democratic; for the suffrage in the older States had been given to property owners or tax-payers only, and limited in many cases by disfranchisement on religious or other grounds. The new States, excepting Tennessee, made every adult male citizen a voter, and their democratic example was pushing the older States, one by one, to do the same. Hence the spirit of the nation was now beginning to take much of its tone from a young, vigorous, untrained, often rough democracy, in pioneer communities that were making themselves felt more and more. Their influence on the character and

Democracy in the West.

Western influence on the East.

history of the republic during the next generation or two is plainly seen.

218. Steam Navigation. — Road and Canal Building. 1807–1825. A new era in the settlement and development of the vast interior of the country was opening, through the introduction of steam navigation on rivers and lakes, the improvement of roads on the principal lines of emigration, and the undertaking of the most important of all early canals. Fulton's first steamboat, as stated before, began her trips on the Hudson in 1807. The first steamer on western rivers was launched at Pittsburg in 1811, and taken to New Orleans. The first on the Great Lakes was built at Sackett's Harbor in 1816; the first on Lake Erie began trips from Buffalo to Detroit in 1818. From that time the new carrier of people and merchandise came into use very fast, and the movement of both, over widening stretches of the country, was quickened and increased at an extraordinary rate.

Lake and river steamboating, 1807-1818.

In 1820 the Cumberland Road, the first and for a long time the only work of "internal improvement" taken in hand by the general government, was finished from Cumberland, on the Potomac, to Wheeling, on the Ohio River. Between 1817 and 1825 another more important undertaking was carried through, with remarkable energy, by the State of New York, stimulated by its able governor, DeWitt Clinton. This was the building of the Erie Canal, 364 miles in length, from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, opening travel and transportation by water from the seaboard to the far western extremity of the chain of Great Lakes. The great canal became at once the chosen thoroughfare of westward emigration, traversed by millions, in an endless proces-

Cumberland Road. 1808-1820.

The Erie Canal, 1817-1825.

sion to homes in the heart of the continent, and became, too, the main channel of traffic between the east and the west. The State of New York was populated and enriched by the stream of trade and travel, and its seaport, at the mouth of the Hudson, was made the chief commercial emporium of the New World.

219. Literature and Liberal Thought. 1816–1825. There are many signs to show that the country was moved by fresh impulses, on many lines of its advance, in the years that followed the war. They were impulses, not generated at the time, but simply set free from the distractions and constraints of the troubled period which the whole preceding generation had been living through. They showed themselves as plainly in a new liberation of thought, and of the expression of thought, as in the liberated spirit that is mentioned above. The first notable writings in this country that belong to pure literature — being, that is, something more than strong reasoning on religious and political topics, or more than clear narrative in good English — appeared then, or were germinated in young minds, under the influences of that time. It was in 1817 that Bryant's "Thanatopsis" was published in the "North American Review," then passing through its second year. It was in 1819 that the classic "Sketch Book" of Irving was put in print. It was in 1820 that Cooper gave his first novel to the world, and he followed it the next year with "The Spy." Before these there had been nothing of their kind that holds a living place in American literature; but what a harvesting there was in the next score or two of years, from minds that were ripened in the schools and colleges of that time! From Emerson, born in 1803, Hawthorne, born in 1804, Longfellow and Whittier in

Bryant, Irving, Cooper, 1817-1821.

Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes.

1807, Dr. Holmes in 1809! It was the dawn of what, thus far in the history of American literature, has been its golden age.

"Liberal Christianity."

Quite as striking is the movement of change in religious thought and feeling that became manifest in those quiet years, beginning in the circle which has Boston for its centre and thence widening out. The harsh and bitter beliefs of early Puritanism had been losing their hold upon the Congregational churches of New England for many years; but the decisive break from them came within the period now spoken of, when the powerful influence of William Ellery Channing began to have a wide range.

220. The Political "Era of Good Feelings." 1817–1824. The state of political quietude at this time was the most remarkable that the country has ever known; for the intense passions of the past score of years, excited by circumstances growing out of the conflict in Europe, subsided quickly after the removal of their cause, and a profound reaction ensued. As the old Federalist party fell to pieces, it left, for the time being, only one coherent party in existence, which was the party in power. All the original political issues that divided people into parties at the outset were in full force still, and were working out the same divisions of opinion and the same conflicts of interest as before; but it took time to reorganize them in party forms. Meanwhile a singular appearance of political peace was produced, which caused the years of the administration of President Monroe to be called "The Era of Good Feelings." [1]

[1] Mr. Schouler, in his *History of the United States*, states that the earliest use he has found of this phrase is in the heading of a Boston newspaper article, July 12, 1817, during a visit of the President to New England. He refers, also, to a statement in *Niles's*

221. Bank Inflation and the "Crisis" of 1819. 1811–1821. At first, the political "good feeling" of this era coincided with a quite general state of satisfaction, produced by apparently "good times." Manufactures were suffering, notwithstanding the raised tariff, and shipping interests were depressed, but the great inflow of commodities from abroad was yielding a rich revenue to the government and giving activity to trade, while Europe was buying largely of American breadstuffs for a time. The appearance of prosperity was heightened by an inflation of banking and bank paper-currency, which had its beginning when the first bank of the United States was dissolved, in 1811 (see sect. **197**). A mischievous multitude of banks, of the species called "wild-cat" at a later time, sprang into existence then, under state laws loosely framed, which subjected them to little regulation or restraint. These banks issued notes in reckless quantities, based on no sound security, and made equally reckless loans of them, spreading a credit system that had nothing substantial to rest upon, on either the lender's or the borrower's side. The second Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816 with the hope that it would check the mischief, and be, as the first Bank had been, a strong regulator of banking and monetary operations; but its early management made matters worse. In 1818 a new management in the Bank of the United States found its affairs in such a state that sharp measures, reducing loans and collecting debts, were needed to save it from failure; and that action broke the bubble of fictitious credit and speculative trade. The break came in 1819, and there was much

"Wild-cat" banks, 1811-1819.

The second United States Bank.

Register of July 12, 1823, that Boston gave that name to the "æra" when the President was there.

depression and distress for the next two years, except in Massachusetts, where the banks and currency had been kept in a generally sound state.

222. Supreme Court Decisions. 1819–1824. At this time, and within the next few years, the Supreme Court of the United States, under the lead of Chief Justice Marshall, found opportunity, in a number of cases that came before it, to pronounce a series of vitally important decisions, establishing its own authority as the final tribunal on questions of constitutional law; broadly construing and enforcing the clause of the Constitution which forbids the States to impair the obligations of contracts, and sustaining Hamilton's doctrine of "implied powers." Excepting Marshall and one other, the justices of the Supreme Court when these decisions were rendered (1819–24) had been appointed by Presidents Jefferson and Madison; but the effect of their decisions was to establish the sovereign nationality of the federal government which Jefferson and Madison had feared.

223. The First Seminole War. — General Jackson's Proceedings. 1817–1818. The most disturbing political event in the early part of the Monroe administration was the first of two wars with the Seminole Indians of Florida. In 1817 General Jackson was put in command of forces sent against those Indians, who lived in Spanish territory, but who had been in collision with the Georgians on frequent occasions, for many years.

Jackson's conquest of Florida.

Jackson proposed to make the war one of conquest, for the overthrow of the weak Spanish authority in Florida, and he always claimed that the government had given him reason to suppose that it approved his plans. There was fierce disputing on the subject for years.

At all events, Jackson, in a campaign of five months,

not only subdued the Seminoles, but took substantial possession of Florida, capturing St. Mark's and Pensacola, turning out the Spanish garrisons, and putting American forces in their place. More than that, in violation of all principles of international law, to say nothing of justice, he hanged two British subjects — a Scotch trader, Arbuthnot, and an Englishman named Ambrister — whom he believed to have aided the Seminoles, though evidence that they did so was slight. His lawless conduct was both shameful and embarrassing to the country; and yet his popularity, consequent on the victory at New Orleans, was so great that the government did not dare to rebuke him, or disclaim responsibility for what he had done. It had to deal with the offended governments of England and Spain as best it could.

Arbuthnot and Ambrister, 1818.

224. Purchase of East Florida. — Spanish Boundaries defined. 1819.[1] The outcome was fortunate, particularly on the Spanish side of the matter; for Spain became convinced that her Florida territory would be always insecure. She consented, therefore, to give it up to the United States, as an offset to American claims for spoliations in the past wars, amounting to about $5,000,000 as a whole. The treaty of cession signed in February, 1819, was made doubly important by defining boundaries in the west between the possessions of the United States and Spain. The line defined ran by the Sabine, the Red, and the Arkansas rivers (with meridian lines between them), up to the 42d degree of north latitude, which parallel it followed to the Pacific coast. All claim to territory north of the 42d degree was renounced by Spain.

225. Convention with Great Britain. — The Oregon

[1] See Map XV.

Country. — Fisheries. 1818. This last provision of the Florida treaty gave important support to contentions of the United States with Great Britain over the region on the Pacific called Oregon, in the basin of the Columbia River. American claims to that region were founded on the fact that, while Spanish and English voyagers had skirted the coast in earlier times, an American ship was the first (in 1792) to enter the Columbia; that the first exploration of the country from the mountains to the sea was made by Lewis and Clarke in 1804–05 (see sect. **185**); and that the trading settlement of Astoria was founded by John Jacob Astor's fur company in 1811. Since 1813, however, the British had been in actual possession of the country, and were not easily to be driven out. Four months prior to the Florida treaty with Spain (in October, 1818), a convention with Great Britain established the 49th degree of north latitude as the northern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and provided that the country west of the mountains should be held jointly by the two nations for ten years. As a matter of fact, the Oregon boundary question remained unsettled for twenty-eight years, instead of ten.

Early claims to Oregon.

Joint occupation of Oregon, 1818.

The fisheries question, postponed in the negotiations at Ghent, was settled by this convention of 1818. Within certain limits, it restored to American fishermen the privileges they had formerly enjoyed on the eastern coasts of British America, which were held to be annulled by the War of 1812. On the remaining coasts they were to do no fishing within three miles of the shore.

Fisheries question.

226. The Question of Slavery Extension. 1816–

1821. In settling our western boundary with Spain, there would have been, probably, an effort to push it beyond the Sabine and take in the Texas country to the Rio Grande, if a startling excitement of sectional feeling on the slavery question had not been rising at the time, in connection with the admission of new States. At the end of the first year of the Monroe administration there were twenty States in the Union, Indiana and Mississippi having been admitted in 1816 and 1817. In exactly one half of them — all north of Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio River — slavery had been or was being extinguished by measures of gradual emancipation; while in the other half the prospects of its extinction were growing less. This gave the slave labor and the free labor interests an even representation in the United States Senate; but in the other House of Congress the slaveholding States were losing ground at a rapid rate, despite the representation they had secured for three fifths of their slaves. The greater streams of population flowing into the empty spaces of the continent were moving, and would move, toward the regions in which labor was free. These facts had become alarming to the slaveholding interest, and it saw no mode of holding power in the Union except that of offsetting numbers in States against numbers in people, to keep itself strong in the Senate, against the House.

Indiana and Mississippi admitted, 1816-1817.

Slaveholding States losing power in House.

By a tacit agreement, the balance established in 1817 was maintained in the next formation of States, — Illinois in 1818 and Alabama in the succeeding year. But then arose the question of dealing with the vast territory of the Louisiana Purchase, which came to us with slavery sanctioned by its

Illinois and Alabama, 1818-1819.

Spanish and French laws, and which, thus far, had stood open to the slaveholder and his slaves. One slaveholding State, Louisiana, had been carved already from that territory, and a slaveholding population was spreading up its streams and over its inviting lands.

227. The Missouri Compromise. 1820–1821.[1] The question came seriously into Congress in February, 1819, when a bill to authorize the people of Missouri to form a state government was taken up for discussion in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Tallmadge, a New York member, moved to amend it by a provision that "the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited," and "that all children of slaves born within the said State after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free." This opened a passionate debate, and the whole country was shaken by the excitement produced. Threats from the south of a dissolution of the Union and civil war were answered by declarations from the north that the spreading of slavery was more dreadful than disunion or war. The discussion resulted in the adoption of Mr. Tallmadge's amendment in the House, while the Senate threw it out. The session being then near its close, the bill was dropped; but a vehement agitation of the subject, in all parts of the country, went on.

Tallmadge's amendment, 1819.

When Congress met again, in December, 1819, it received an application from the people of Maine to be separated from Massachusetts and allowed to form a state government of their own. The Senate coupled this with the application from Missouri, and efforts were made to bring about the admission of the two States together, one with slavery and

Application of Maine, 1819.

[1] See Map XIV.

one without. The House refused, and the two branches of Congress were at a dead-lock for some weeks. Finally a compromise, famous in American history as "The Missouri Compromise," was arranged. Missouri was to be admitted with no restriction; but in all the remainder of the territory bought from France "which lies north of 36° 30′ north latitude" (that being the southern boundary line of Missouri), slavery was to be prohibited forever. Fourteen northern members of the House were persuaded to join those of the south in passing this compromise act, Maine being admitted to statehood at the same time (March 3, 1820).

The Missouri Compromise, 1820.

Maine admitted, 1820.

But the Missouri question was not ended; for when, at the next session of Congress, the people of the applicant Territory submitted the constitution they had framed, it was found to contain a provision that free colored people should not come within its bounds. This violated the provision of the Federal Constitution that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," inasmuch as colored people had been admitted to citizenship in some of the northern States. A new excitement in Congress and in the country was produced. Both south and north there was a growing dislike of the compromise, and a strong disposition to throw it aside. It was objectionable to one party because it conceded to Congress the power to interfere with slavery in the Territories; and to the other party because it permitted even a limited extension of slavery to new States. After weeks of debate there appeared to be no hope of a peaceful agreement, and the slaveholding States seemed prepared to break from the Union and fight for the territory in dispute.

The question reopened.

But that conflict of feeling was overcome at last by the exertions and the extraordinary influence of Henry Clay. Mr. Clay succeeded, on the 28th of February, 1821, in carrying a joint resolution through the House by the narrow majority of 86 against 82, which admitted Missouri to the Union on the "fundamental condition" that the objectionable clause in its constitution should never be construed to authorize the passage of any law excluding any citizen of another State from the privileges and immunities to which he is entitled under the Constitution of the United States. The Senate concurred; Missouri agreed to the condition, and the President, in due time, proclaimed the admission of the new State.

Clay, and the final agreement.

Again, as in the framing of the Federal Constitution, the irreconcilable antagonisms between a society based on slave labor and one founded on the institutions of freedom had been stifled temporarily by compromise. Whether or not it was best for the country that this should be done, and done again, to defer an inevitable conflict, is a question that has had much debate. The longer the postponement, the more terrible the conflict at last; but if it had come too early to be decisive, there would have been, perhaps, only a beginning of long-lasting and ruinous hostilities between disunited States.

Postponement of the "irreconcilable conflict."

228. Unanimous Reëlection of President Monroe. 1820. In 1820 the Federalist party had disappeared as a national organization, and no other had taken its place. Factions in state politics were numerous, and the sectional issue upon slavery had become deeply marked; but there was nothing that could be rallied as an opposition to the reëlection of President Monroe. No candidate was brought forward against him, and he enjoys

the distinction of being the only President save Washington to whom the office was given with unanimity. A single elector, in New Hampshire, cast his vote for John Quincy Adams, merely, as he said, to preserve Washington's distinction; but the unanimity of Monroe's election was broken only in appearance by that vote.

229. International Improvements and Protective Tariffs. 1822–1824. The existing political situation, with but one party having a national footing in the country, could not last long. The old fundamental questions, inherent in the Federal system and its Constitution, were sure to be raised as party issues again. Such a question was that relating to internal improvements, now beginning to be made urgent by the spread of interior settlement, increasing the need of improved means of travel and traffic. President Monroe was in agreement with Jefferson and Madison on this question, arguing against the power of Congress to undertake roads and canals without an amendment of the Constitution; but the issue was not yet distinctly formed.

Monroe's attitude on internal improvements.

Another rising question, on which parties were certain to come to a more definite division soon, was that touching the "protection" of home industries by high tariff rates. The protective tariff of 1816 had not satisfied the manufacturers for whom it was framed, and attempts to raise the scale of duties were made in every Congress from 1820 till 1824, when they obtained success. The bill then passed not only raised the barrier against foreign products of the spindle and loom, the furnace and the forge, by increased duties, but it protected wool-raising in Ohio, hemp-growing in Kentucky, lead-mining in Illinois and Missouri, and other industries in other States, and so made up the

Tariff of 1824.

small majorities in the two Houses by which it was passed. The "navigating and fishing States," Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, together with the cotton, tobacco, and sugar-planting States, cast their votes almost solidly against the bill. Clay was the foremost champion of what he named "The American System" of national policy, as he had been the chief advocate of a national policy of internal improvements, and it was not difficult to foresee that he would be in the lead of a distinct party formed on those lines.

Attitude of Clay and Webster.

Webster, contending for the shipping interests, which his State still valued more highly than its factories, appeared again, as in 1816, the weightiest opponent of the protective scheme.

230. The "Monroe Doctrine." 1823. It was President Monroe's fortune to associate his name with a principle of American policy which the people of all parties have accepted, and which has commanded so much attention and discussion in other countries that it is famously known. In 1823 the Spanish-American provinces (except those of the West Indies) had all acquired substantial independence, and the United States had recognized their independence in the previous year. In Spain itself a revolution had occurred in 1820, which the Bourbon government of France (restored after the fall of Napoleon) had sent an army to suppress. In doing this, the king of France acted for a league of European sovereigns, calling itself "the Holy Alliance," the real object of whose members was to lend assistance to one another against popular revolts. It was understood that this so-called Holy Alliance, after making misgoverned people in Europe submissive to their yokes, intended to take Spanish America in hand, and its proceed-

"The Holy Alliance."

ings were watched with anxiety and indignation by England as well as the United States. Mr. Canning, then British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, suggested in August, 1823, that Great Britain and the United States act together in opposing the trans-Atlantic projects of the dangerous league. No arrangement for that purpose was made; but when, in December, the President prepared his message, it was decided in his cabinet that he should state plainly the determination of the United States to oppose European meddling with American affairs. It has been claimed, with probable truth, that John Quincy Adams, Mr. Monroe's Secretary of State, was the author in substance of the declaration as it appeared in the President's message; but virtually the same doctrine of American policy had been set forth by others more than once. The official statement of it by President Monroe gave the principle an importance which it has kept, for the reason that it expressed the mind of the nation, then and since. The language that embodied the so-called "Monroe Doctrine" appears in two parts of the message. First, in allusion to Russian claims and movements on the Pacific coast, it was said: "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." With reference to the supposed intentions of the powers of the Holy Alliance, the language used was, in part, as follows: "In the wars of European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our

Canning's suggestion, 1823.

President Monroe's message, 1823.

policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their [political] system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere, but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

Statement of the Doctrine.

Frequent attempts are made to give a broader meaning to this statement of policy than it can reasonably bear; as though the United States undertook to stand between other American states and the powers of the Old World in all matters. It means no such thing. The purpose expressed and the objects aimed at are plain, namely: (1) that ambitious powers in Europe shall neither make conquests in this hemisphere, nor overturn existing governments, nor extend their own political system to it, if the United States can prevent; and (2) that the American continents are no longer to be looked upon as open fields for new colonies under European control.

Meaning of the Monroe Doctrine.

231. Visit of Lafayette. 1824–1825. In the last year of Mr. Monroe's administration as President the country was delighted by a visit from Lafayette. Wel-

comed and entertained as a guest of the nation, the noble Frenchman received everywhere, during a stay of thirteen months, every attention that could be devised for showing the affection of a grateful people. The nation gave itself up to a more joyous excitement of patriotic emotions than it had ever experienced before, and the "Era of Good Feelings" was brought to a happy close.

232. Presidential Election of 1824–1825.— Its Determination in the House of Representatives. — "Bargain and Corruption" charged by the Jackson men. Attention was so centred upon Lafayette in the fall of 1824 that the presidential election passed with little stir. Nothing was at issue except questions of personal choice between several candidates, all of whom professed the same political principles and were stamped with the same party name. The Democratic-Republican organization was still alone in the field, but able no longer to concentrate its votes. Party conventions for that purpose were not yet in use. Hitherto it had sufficed for the congressmen of a party to meet in caucus and name a candidate; but submissiveness to that kind of nomination had now come to an end. General Jackson had been proposed for President by the legislature of Tennessee, and certain shrewd politicians, who foresaw that masses of people would vote blindly for the "hero of New Orleans," were working in his interest with consummate skill. Other States had offered other favorite public men; but finally the list of candidates was reduced to four, namely, Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, General Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay. If the old feeling in the country, which held its highest office in reserve for the most eminently fitted men, had still

Crawford, Jackson, Adams, Clay, 1824.

prevailed, either Adams or Clay would have received the major vote. No other statesman of his day was the peer of John Quincy Adams in solid attributes of character and mind; but his virtues and talents were adorned with no graces, and he took no care to make himself pleasing to the public which he faithfully served. Clay, on the other hand, surpassed most men in captivating gifts; but he was too impulsive, too ardent in his opinions, too honestly outspoken, to avoid making enemies who influenced great numbers of votes.

Jackson received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, Clay 37, — which gave a majority to none. For Vice-President a large majority of votes was cast for Calhoun. The choice of President was now to be made by the House of Representatives, from the three candidates standing highest in the list of electoral votes. Had Clay been one of the three, it is nearly certain that he would have had the suffrages of the House. As it was, his influence determined the election, and Adams may be said to have received the presidency at his hands. Broken health had put Crawford really out of the question, and Jackson had given no evidence of being qualified for the great trust of the government of the United States. Of the three to be chosen from, Adams was the eminently fit man, and there is no reason to suppose that Clay had ever a moment's doubt as to what he should do; but the instant his preference was announced, the supporters of Jackson declared that he had bargained with Adams to be made Secretary of State. They had guessed shrewdly that Adams would invite Clay to take the State Department and that Clay would accept. It was the natural selection for the President to make.

The electoral vote.

Adams and Clay did what the plotters expected them

to do, and it is one of the shameful facts in American history that they suffered seriously from the ceaseless cry of "bargain and corruption" then raised. In large parts of the country the public mind was poisoned by it; multitudes of people were persuaded by the mere persistence of the unsupported charge that a great fraud had been committed, which the next election must set right. The whole point of the invented story was in that next election, for which the conspirators were preparing a long campaign. Probably no one was more deluded by them than Jackson himself. He sincerely believed the story of fraud, and considered the people of the United States, as well as himself, to have been intolerably wronged. It was in his nature to arrive at such a conviction without proof. At the bottom of that singular nature there was a very sturdy honesty; but it went with a bigoted mind.

The "bargain and corruption" cry, 1825.

233. Jackson Combination against the Adams Administration. — "State Rights" Reaction in the South. 1825–1829. The cries of "bargain and corruption," "the presidency sold," "the people cheated of their choice," were only preludes to the scheme of the Jackson campaign. Its managers planned to obstruct, cripple, and discredit the administration of President Adams in all possible ways. They were helped by the very uprightness and high-minded dignity of the President, who would stoop to no contest with them on their lower ground. They were helped in another way still more; for a radical "state rights" movement, then being revived in southern politics, went into alliance with them and gave them a large part of their strength. The Missouri struggle had awakened the slaveholding interest to a perception of the fact that there could be no safety for slavery except in narrow constructions of

the Constitution, closely limiting the powers of the general government and establishing the broadest possible "state rights." Southern public men began to regret the encouragement that some of them had given to policies of internal improvement and industrial protection, and profound reactions of opinion on those matters were taking place. The slaveholding States produced little that could be benefited by protective duties except hemp. Their slave labor could never be applied to any kind of manufacturing with success. Their exports of cotton and tobacco paid for the largest part of the national importation of foreign goods, and southern economists were claiming that most of the duties collected on imports came, therefore, out of the pockets of southern exporters in the end. It was a wild theory, but became a general belief. Southern public men like Calhoun, who had advocated protective duties, internal improvements, and the broader claims of national sovereignty, at the outset of their careers, now changed their views.

Slavery and state rights.

Changed southern views of import duties.

234. The New Construction of Political Parties. 1825–1829. All this southern reaction toward the extremest magnifying of "state rights" was drawn into the Jackson movement, and was used by its skilful managers with great success in working up a combination against the government, which really broke the latter down. The inevitable construction of new parties was thus brought about. On one side, the protectionists, the advocates of road and canal building as national works, and those, generally, who adhered to Federalistic views of the Constitution, and of the powers it gave to the general government, remained in support of the administration, and took the

National Republican party, 1824.

name of National Republicans. The opposition preferred to be known as the Democratic party, though it kept the old Jeffersonian title of Democratic-Republican, for formal use.

235. Deaths of Jefferson and Adams. July 4, 1826. Jefferson lived just long enough to witness this reconstruction of his party in a more democratic character than it had at first; and John Adams lived to see his son in the presidency, gathering, under a changed name, and partly from changed sources, a new party, which was, in reality, the Federalist party revived, though it denied that descent. By a remarkable and most impressive coincidence, both Adams and Jefferson died on the 4th of July, 1826, being the fiftieth anniversary of the day on which they set their names to the great Declaration.

236. The Panama Congress. — Georgia and its Indian Tribes. 1825–1827. Of details in the history of the four years of the administration of President Adams there is little that needs to be told here. It is the history of a government that was hampered and baffled by malicious opposition from beginning to end. The notable incident of its first year was an invitation to join the Spanish-American republics in a congress to be held at Panama, for consideration of common interests among the nations of the New World. The government desired to be represented in the Congress, for the purpose of cultivating friendly relations with neighbors who had modelled their independent governments on our own, being careful at the same time to avoid entanglement in their politics, or responsibility for their acts. But opposition in Congress delayed action so long that the Panama meeting took place with no delegate in attendance from the United States.

In a much graver matter the government was crip-

pled by congressional opposition, being deprived of power to fulfil its treaty obligations to the Creek and Cherokee Indians of Georgia, in protecting them from aggressive and oppressive acts by that State. The President was permitted to do nothing to uphold the national authority against a defiant State.

237. "The Tariff of Abominations," 1828. In the last year of this ill-treated administration, a new tariff bill was passed, with grave future effects. The tariff of 1824 had not satisfied the manufacturers, and, to maintain themselves at the north, the Jackson men were forced to take part with the National Republicans in amending the law. They are said to have schemed to construct a bill so disadvantageous to New England, by reason of high duties on wool and other raw materials, that the New England representatives would join those of the south in defeating it, and so take the odium of the defeat on themselves. But the New Englanders chose to vote for the objectionable bill, and it became a law, to the great indignation of the south. By this time Massachusetts had become a protectionist State, her manufactures having grown to more importance than her shipping interests, and, just as Calhoun changed his ground on the question in one direction, so did Webster in the other. The latter contended that his constituents had been forced to accept the protective system as a national policy, and, having conformed their industries to it, they must now demand to have it fully carried out. The "tariff of abominations," as it was called, assumed a startling importance in the politics of the next few years.

Tariff scheming by Jackson's supporters.

Webster and Calhoun change grounds.

238. Presidential Election of 1828. — The Jackson Triumph. The election canvass of 1828 surpassed all

that had gone before in the recklessness of slander and abuse with which it was carried on. President Adams was named for reëlection by the National Republicans, with Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President, and Jackson and Calhoun were the Democratic nominees. There appears to have been small doubt of the result from the first. Adams carried New England, except one electoral vote in Maine, and he had the electoral vote of New Jersey and Delaware, with part of the votes of Maryland and New York, — 83 in all. Jackson had the rest (178), including the whole country west of the mountains and south of the Potomac and Ohio, along with the greater part of the middle Atlantic States.

Jackson's vote.

In all but two States, South Carolina and Delaware, the presidential electors were now chosen by direct vote of the people, instead of being appointed by state legislatures, as was the commoner early mode. In some States the election was by districts, which caused a division of electoral votes, as in New York. Party politics in that State have always been complicated, and the situation in 1828 was more than usually strange. Two years previously, at Batavia, in western New York, a man named Morgan, who had written a pamphlet purporting to be a disclosure of the secrets of the order of Free Masons, was mysteriously abducted by masked men, and never seen again in life. A body found soon afterward in the Niagara River was declared by many persons to be his, and the charge that he had been murdered by Masons caused fierce excitement in the State. The feeling ran into politics, and a new party, of Anti-Masons, hostile to all secret societies, and especially bitter against public men belonging to the Masonic order, was formed. The previous

Anti-Masonry, 1826-1828.

political factions in New York, known as "Clintonians" and "Bucktails," were disorganized by this new movement, which divided both. The Clintonians were followers of DeWitt Clinton; his opponents, the Bucktails, took their name from an ornament worn upon occasions by members of the Tammany Society, of the city of New York, which had become an organization of great political power.[1] Apparently, opposition to Jackson would have been weak in New York State if anti-Masonry had not disturbed the Democratic vote; but the fact that General Jackson was a Mason and that Adams was not gave 16 electoral votes to the latter out of 36.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

217. The New Spirit in the Country.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Effect of the pacification of Europe on the United States. 2. Why a more independent and more American spirit arose after the War of 1812. Hart, *Formation*, 221; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 120–122. 3. The new influences that came from the west. Roosevelt, *The Winning*, iv. 223–257; Sumner, *Jackson*, 136–137; Tocqueville, i. 64–65.

218. Steam Navigation. — Road and Canal Building.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Beginnings of steamboating on rivers and lakes. 2. The Cumberland road. 3. Construction of the Erie Canal. McMaster, iv. 397–410, 415–421, v. 132–136; Hart, *Formation*, 227–229.

RESEARCH. — The settlement of the west as controlled or influenced

[1] The "Tammany Society or Columbian Order," organized in 1789, was purely patriotic and non-partisan in the beginning; but came under the control of political managers who made it finally the central organization of the Democratic party in the city of New York.

by the course of navigable streams and by improvements in the means of transportation and travel. E. Hough, in *Century Magazine*, xli. 91, 201.

219. Literature and Liberal Thought.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Beginnings of pure literature. 2. Change in religious thought. Hart, *Formation*, 224; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 512–514; Richardson, i. 258–260, 287–292; Schouler, iii. 222–224.

220. The Political "Era of Good Feelings."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Causes of a singular state of political quietude. 2. "The Era of Good Feelings." Schouler, iii. 3–12; Sargent, i. 20–21.

221. Bank Inflation and the "Crisis" of 1819.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Business conditions at the beginning of the period. Taussig, 19–22; Schouler, iii. 37–40.

2. Inflation of banking and bank currency. — How caused. — "Wild-cat" banks. 3. Influence of second Bank of the United States. Sumner, *Jackson*, 75–76, 120–135; McMaster, iv. 280–318, 484–510; Gordy, ii. ch. xxv.–xxvi.; Schouler, iii. 109–121; Hildreth, vi. 679–682; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 441–445.

222. Supreme Court Decisions.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Bearing and effect of important decisions rendered in this period. Hart, *Formation*, 234–236; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 446–450; Sumner, *Jackson*, 128–130; Lodge, *Webster*, ch. iii.

223. First Seminole War. — General Jackson's Proceedings.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. General Jackson's practical conquest of Florida. 2. Execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. 3. Embarrassing position of the government. Sumner, *Jackson*, 52–67; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 151–159; McMaster, iv. 430–456; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 24–36; Gordy, ii. 372–387; Schouler, iii. 57–95; Hildreth, vi. 605–606, 627–628, 640–646, 654–658; Clay, v. 179–204.

224. Purchase of East Florida. — Spanish Boundaries defined.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Treaty with Spain (text in MacDonald, ii. 213–219). 2. Price paid for Florida. 3. Lines of western boundary. Benton, i. ch. xv.; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 20–24, 33, 36–38; McMaster, iv. 474–483; Gordy, ii. 359–360, 363–364, 382–383, 388–389; Schouler, iii. 95–96, 130–133, 175–176, 189; Hildreth, vi. 646–647, 658–659, 712; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 162–165; Hart, *Formation*, 233–234.

225. Convention with Great Britain. — The Oregon Country. — The Fisheries.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. American claims to the Oregon country contested by Great Britain. — Agreement for a joint occupation. 2. Settlement of the fisheries question. McMaster, vi. 457–474; Benton, i. ch. v.; Hildreth, vi. 659–660; Hart, *Formation*, 233.

226. Question of Slavery Extension.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Why Texas was not claimed from Spain. 2. Sectional feeling over the extension of slavery. 3. Equality in number of slave States and free States. — Its importance to the slaveholding interest. — Increasing inequality in population. 4. Admission of Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama. 5. Question concerning the Louisiana Purchase. Schouler, iii. 96–101, 136–147, 176–178; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 163–164, 172–175; Hart, *Formation*, 236–238; Gordy, ii. 390–400; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 51–58, 61–66; Holst, *United States*, i. 350–357; Nicolay and Hay, i. 322–324.

227. The Missouri Compromise.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Exciting proposal to exclude slavery from Missouri. 2. Proposal to pair Maine with Missouri. — Deadlock in Congress. 3. Agreement upon the "Missouri Compromise" (text in MacDonald, ii. 219–224). Admission of Maine. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 172, 175–182; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 66–95; McMaster, iv. 570–594; Gordy, ii. 408–416; Holst, *United States*, i. 357–378; Schouler,

iii. 101–103, 147–171; Hart, *Formation*, 238–240; Hildreth, vi. 661–676, 682–685, 687–696.

4. Reopening of the question by the Missouri constitution. — Threatening situation. 5. Fundamental condition of the final admission of Missouri (text in MacDonald, ii. 225–226). — Influence of Henry Clay. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 183–193; Benton, i. 8–10; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 95–103; McMaster, iv. 594–601; Gordy, ii. 416–439; Holst, *United States*, i. 378–381; Schouler, iii. 178–186; Hart, *Formation*, 240–241; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 452–458; Hildreth, vi. 702–703, 705–712.

6. Wisdom of the Compromise. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 194–199; Gordy, ii. 440–444; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 103–107; Schouler, iii. 171–173; Am. Hist. Ass'n, *Annual Rep't, 1893*, 289–294.

228. Unanimous Reëlection of President Monroe.

Topics and References.

1. Circumstances of the election of 1820. Schouler, iii. 197–199.

229. Internal Improvements and Protective Tariffs.

Topics and References.

1. The questions on which new parties would be formed. 2. The protective tariff of 1824. 3. Clay's "American System." — Webster's opposition. Gordy, ii. 484–488, and ch. xxviii.; Holst, *United States*, i. 388–403; McMaster, iv. 410–415, 422–426, 510–521; Schouler, iii. 247–254, 295–298; Hart, *Formation*, 247–248, 253–255; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 212–221; Benton, i. 1–4, and ch. xiii.; Clay, v. 254–294; Webster, iii. 94–149; Taussig, 23–24; Elliott, 194–236.

Research. — The policy of "internal improvements" as advocated by Mr. Clay. Clay, i. ch. xix., v. 115–135.

230. The Monroe Doctrine.

Topics and References.

1. Circumstances which called out the declaration known as the "Monroe Doctrine." — The "Holy Alliance" (text in Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 479–480) and Spanish-American independence. 2. Canning's suggestion. 3. The two passages of President Monroe's message that embody the "doctrine" (text in MacDonald, ii. 228–231; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 494–498). Gilman, 156–174; Wharton, *Digest*, i. sect. 57; McMaster, v. 28–48; Hart, *Formation*,

241–244; Gordy, ii. 488–495; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 122–127; Schouler, iii. 277–290, 292–293; Tucker.

4. What it does and does not mean. Gordy, ii. 495–496; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 127–128; Schouler, iii. 290–291; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 499–501.

231. The Visit of Lafayette.

Topics and References.

1. Entertainment of Lafayette as the nation's guest. Tuckerman, ii. ch. vii.; Sargent, i. 89–95; Benton, i. 29–31; Schouler, iii. 316–324.

232. Presidential Election of 1824–1825. — The "Bargain and Corruption" Cry.

Topics and References.

1. The single party with four candidates. 2. Failure to elect by the popular vote. — Election in the House of Representatives. 3. Clay favors Adams and is made Secretary of State. — Cry of "bargain and corruption." 4. Use of the charge in the next election. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 221–232, 236–257, 276–286; Sumner, *Jackson*, 76–99; Quincy, *J. Q. Adams*, ch. vii.; McMaster, v. 55–81, 488–513; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 131–144; Hart, *Formation*, 248–251; Gordy, ii. 511–535; Schouler, iii. 304–316, 324–329, 338–342; Benton, i. 47–49; J. Q. Adams, vi. 269, 289–294, 302–303, 312–317, 450–453, 470–473, 505–509, 525; Clay, i. ch. xiv.–xviii., v. 341–355.

5. Jackson's belief in the matter. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 320–324.

233. Combination against the Adams Administration. — "State rights" Reaction in the South.

Topics and References.

1. Organized opposition to the Administration. Hart, *Formation*, 259–260; Gordy, ii. 536–542, 548–550, 559–560, 568; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 258–265; Sumner, *Jackson*, 100–106; Schouler, iii. 336–337, 344–346, 409–413, 416–420; Sargent, i. 106–114.

2. The southern "state rights" movement. — Pro-slavery reaction against "protection" and "internal improvements." Burgess, *Middle Period*, 108–122, 129–130; Holst, *Calhoun*, 66–76; Sumner, *Jackson*, 108–114; Schouler, iii. 381–385.

234. New Construction of Political Parties. — National Republicans and Democrats.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The two parties formed, for and against the Administration. Schurz, *Clay*, i. 311–320; Gordy, ii. 543–548, 561–568; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 144–146.

235. Deaths of Jefferson and Adams.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The extraordinary coincidence of their deaths on the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Webster, i. 109–150; Benton, i. ch. xxxi.; Schouler, iii. 386–388; Morse, *Jefferson*, 344.

236. The Panama Congress. — Georgia and the Indian Tribes.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The Congress of the Spanish-American republics. — Opposition to a representation from the United States. McMaster, v. 433–459; Holst, *United States*, i. 409–432; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 267–275; Sumner, *Jackson*, 106–108; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 146–155; Gordy, ii. 550–558; Hart, *Formation*, 251–253; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 506–508; Schouler, iii. 358–366; Webster, iii. 178–217; Benton, i. ch. xxv.

2. Powerlessness of the President to fulfil treaty obligations with the Indians. Holst, *United States*, i. 433–458; Sumner, *Jackson*, 174–179; McMaster, v. 175–183; Benton, i. ch. xxiv.–xxvi.; Hart, *Formation*, 255–256; Schouler, iii. 370–380.

237. The "Tariff of Abominations."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The tariff bill of 1828. — Alleged scheme in framing it. 2. Massachusetts joins the "protectionist" States. — Changed attitudes of Webster and Calhoun. Taussig, 68–101; Elliott, 236–246; Sumner, *Jackson*, 197–206; McMaster, v. 227–255; Gordy, ii. 569–574; Lodge, *Webster*, 156–171; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 157–163; Hart, *Formation*, 257–258; Webster, iii. 228–247; Benton, i. ch. xxxiv.

238. Presidential Election of 1828. — The Jackson Triumph.

Topics and References.

1. Jackson's victory in the west, in the south, and in most of the middle States. 2. The Anti-Masonic party. 3. New York "Clintonians" and "Bucktails." Gordy, ii. 575–581; Hart, *Formation*, 260–262; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 287–292, 340–341; Sumner, *Jackson*, 113–118, 250–254; Schouler, iii. 434–439; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 163–165; McMaster, v. 517–519; Benton, i. ch. xxxviii.

CHAPTER XII.

THE JACKSON PERIOD. 1829–1840

239. President Jackson and his Advisers. 1829. The election of Andrew Jackson to be President of the United States has been described as a political revolution, and there seems to be not much exaggeration in the phrase. Indeed, the contrast in character between him and his predecessors was little less than a revolution in itself. They had been picked, as statesmen, from the highest class of trained public men, — men of trusted knowledge and judgment, and of trusted temper and self-command. The choice of General Jackson was made on no such ground. Bred under rude frontier conditions, he not only lacked political knowledge and general cultivation of mind, but his wilful and passionate nature knew nothing of discipline or self-restraint. His judgment was ruled by prejudices, and his first impressions gave him unalterable beliefs. Fortunately the American Union was among the objects of his most passionate belief, and that gave an important leading to his course.

President Jackson and his predecessors.

All the influences surrounding the executive were revolutionized under the Jackson régime. Hitherto the President's counsellors had been the heads of the important departments of his administration, standing in responsible relations to the public and himself; but President Jackson took most of his advice from men who held subordinate places in the administration, or none at all.

They were men whose only mark in American history was made by the doubtful methods they brought into our national politics, and the covert influence they had with a President whose military popularity and personal force gave him extraordinary power. They formed what was called at the time a "kitchen cabinet," meaning that it was a private council, which superseded the functions of the proper cabinet of official chiefs. John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, was the only head of a department who seemed to belong to the "kitchen cabinet;" but Martin Van Buren, the Secretary of State, had the President's confidence, and exerted an influence that was generally good. The characters of the politician and the statesman were mixed remarkably in Van Buren, and he was unequalled as a politician in adroitness and skill. He was the acknowledged chief of a knot of able leaders in New York, known as the "Albany Regency," who ruled the Jackson Democracy of that State for many years.

The "kitchen cabinet."

240. The "Spoils System." 1829. The worst of the changes brought on the government by the altered influences surrounding the executive was a change of principle and of practice in dealing with employments in the national public service. During the forty years that had passed, from the organization of the federal government to the inauguration of President Jackson, only 73 removals from office had been made, and nearly all of them for reasons with which party politics had nothing to do. Jefferson, who removed 39 of the number, displaced a few for political reasons, claiming that it was just to do so because Federalists held most of the places; but Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams appear to have made no changes on political grounds. Mr. Crawford, Monroe's Secretary of

Previous removals from office, 1789-1829.

the Treasury, procured the passage of an act in 1820, which fixed a four years' term for many offices, and so opened an opportunity, without arbitrary removal, for frequent changes to be made; but neither Monroe nor Adams took any advantage of the law. They are said to have reappointed every official whose record of service was satisfactory; though half the public servants whom Adams treated in that high-minded way were openly enlisted against him, in the Jackson campaign.

Four years' term of office.

Already in some of the States — in New York most of all — the political factions had made "spoils" or prizes of everything in the public service to which a tempting salary or tempting fees could be attached; and that "spoils system," as we characterize it, which debases politics and drives men of high character out of public life, was carried into the national administration upon the instant that Jackson took it in hand. To punish his enemies and reward his friends was a maxim of policy that his mind approved. In the first year of his presidency he removed 734 officials, to make places for his own partisans, and by their similar treatment of subordinates it is estimated that more than 2000 changes were made. "Rotation in office" was announced to be the Democratic policy, in order to give as many citizens as possible their turn at what was sometimes described coarsely as "feeding at the public crib." For more than fifty years thereafter the pestilence of the "spoils system" raged in American politics with no check.

"Spoils system" in New York.

Jackson's removals, 1829-1830.

241. Forecast of Presidential Policy. 1829. The first annual message of President Jackson was a significant forecasting of some of the lines on which his mind was being moved. One passage gave warning of hostil-

ity to the United States Bank. Another indicated the general purpose of the Administration to enter upon a new championship of independent rights and powers in the States. That purpose was revealed more distinctly in remarks on the subject of internal improvements, and on the Indian question that had risen in Georgia during President Adams's term. The whole policy of internal improvements was condemned. It was recommended that the general government leave all undertakings of public works to the States, and distribute its surplus revenue among them for their use in such works. A few months later the President repeated his arguments and recommendations on the subject more strenuously, in vetoing a bill which required the government to take stock in a Kentucky turnpike road. He found the policy hard to kill, even in his own party; but opposition to internal improvements by the federal government did become a Democratic doctrine before the end of the Jackson rule.

Hostility to the Bank.

Hostility to internal improvements.

242. Treatment of Indian Tribes. 1829–1843. On the Indian issue between Georgia and the general government the President upheld the State in its violation of national treaties with the Cherokees and Creeks, and its defiance of the national government to protect those tribes in their treaty rights. Later, the Cherokees carried their case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and obtained mandates which the governor and legislature of Georgia refused to obey, and which President Jackson refused to enforce. Within the next few years the southern Indian tribes east of the Mississippi were forced to migrate westward into the Indian Territory, which was set apart for them in 1834. A second war with the Seminoles of Florida, most cruel and destructive on both sides, and

Formation of Indian Territory, 1834.

lasting for eight years, from 1835 till 1843, was consequent on this measure. A shorter conflict in the northwest, with Indians of the tribes of Sacs and Foxes, which were removed to the farther west, occurred in 1832. It was known as the "Black Hawk War," from the name of the leading chief.

243. President Jackson and the Protective Tariff. Calhoun and "Nullification." 1829–1830. On one subject of importance to the champions of state rights, the President gave less satisfaction in his message of 1829. He spoke of the tariff in terms which showed that the doctrine of "protection" to home industries against foreign competition was attractive to his mind. His attitude was a disappointment to the south. Intense feeling on the subject had been worked up, especially in South Carolina, since the passage of the "tariff of abominations" in the previous year. Vice-President Calhoun and others were leading a movement to bring the theory of "nullification," propounded in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 (see sect. **172**) into practical operation, by causing the State of South Carolina to declare the protective tariff laws null and void of effect within the limits of the State, and to take measures for resisting the enforcement of those laws. This proceeding of "nullification" was claimed to be not rebellious in its nature, but the exercise of a strictly constitutional right. The argument relied upon to prove it so was furnished mainly by Calhoun, in a series of elaborate papers, beginning with one sent by him to the South Carolina legislature, and adopted by that body as its own "Exposition," immediately after the passage of the tariff of 1828.

South Carolina "Exposition."

Nor was it only as a remedy for the immediate grievance of the tariff that the minds of the South Carolinians were

dwelling on the doctrine of nullification. For when, in January, 1830, a resolution was introduced in the Senate which seemed to have the purpose of restricting the sale of public lands, Senator Hayne of that State made it the occasion of a speech on the nature of the Federal Union and the meaning of the Constitution, leading up to an emphatic statement of the theory of nullification and its grounds. Certain bearings in that direction of treatment had been given to the public land question by some expressions from the manufacturing States of the east. Those States were showing a selfish jealousy of western expansion, because their working population was drawn away by the attraction of cheap farms, and wages were raised. The land question was thus connected with the tariff question, in southern views; and hence it was that the most important debate in Congress on the theory of "nullification" arose in the Senate upon a simple resolution of inquiry concerning the sales of public lands. Daniel Webster then delivered his greatest constitutional speech, — perhaps the most powerful, in both argument and eloquence, of all his speeches, — on the 26th of January, 1830, in reply to Hayne.

Senator Hayne's speech, 1830.

Webster's reply, 1830.

Not long after this, President Jackson gave the nullifiers a check. Despite the inclination he had shown toward protectionist beliefs, they felt confident that his notions of "state rights" would lead him to deal as tenderly with a nullification of tariff law by South Carolina as he had dealt with the nullification of Indian treaties in the Georgia case. They did not reckon on the different views which a mind like Jackson's would take of his official duty toward a law that he believed in, and his duty toward one which he disapproved. He believed to a certain extent in protective tariffs, and he believed

very ardently in the necessity for preserving the Union of States. The latter was one of the strongest convictions he had, and it is not likely that Calhoun could have persuaded him that nullification did not mean disunion, even if he had been on good terms with Calhoun. But President Jackson was just discovering, in the winter of 1830, that when his conduct in the Seminole war (see sect. **223**) was discussed by the cabinet of President Monroe, Calhoun had not been as he supposed his sole champion, but had striven to have him called to sharp account. His consequent wrath against Calhoun may have added some heat to his feeling against the movement of which Calhoun was the notable head. On Jefferson's birthday (April 13) in 1830, at a banquet where the nullifiers expected to talk principally about the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, he discomfited them by offering as a toast, "Our Federal Union: It must be preserved." After that there was little doubt as to what his attitude toward their projects would be.

Jackson and Calhoun.

244. Cabinet Reconstruction. 1831. The President's rupture with Calhoun led, in the spring of 1831, to a reconstruction of his cabinet, three of the members of which were political friends of the Vice-President and were dismissed. Van Buren and Eaton resigned, the former to become openly, with Jackson's approval, a candidate, first for the vice-presidency, during a second term to be claimed for Jackson in the presidency, and then for the latter's seat, to which Calhoun had aspired. The reconstructed cabinet included Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, in the State Department, Louis McLane, of Delaware, in the Treasury, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Secretaries of War and the Navy, and Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, as Attorney-General.

At the same time the "kitchen cabinet" underwent an important change, Duff Green, who edited a Washington newspaper, dropping out, to follow the fortunes of Calhoun, and Francis P. Blair coming from Kentucky to take his place, and to found a famous administration journal named "The Globe."

245. The Bank Question in the Presidential Canvass. 1832. By this time it was well settled that Jackson would be put forward by the Democratic party for reëlection in 1832, and that the National Republicans would oppose him with Henry Clay. It was equally certain that the Anti-Masons, now grown to be quite a formidable party in several northern States besides New York, would be, in some manner, in the field. So far, the substantial issues between the President and his opponents related only to internal improvements and the character of the Order of Free Masons. Clay wanted a more positive and stirring question in the canvass, and believed it was to be found in the President's hostility to the United States Bank. That hostility had been expressed a second time in the message of 1830; but there are said to have been proposals to the bank, in 1831, of a modified charter, which the administration would approve and which the officers of the bank were willing to accept. Clay, Webster, and other political champions of the bank objected, however, to the offered compromise, and insisted on staking the fate of the institution on the presidential fight. This was a double blunder, in statesmanship and in political management, as they learned to their cost; but their will prevailed, and the gauntlet on the bank question was thrown down by the National Republican convention which nominated Clay, in December, 1831.[1] Its main appeal to

Offered bank charter rejected, 1813.

[1] This presidential election of 1832 was the first in which the

the country against Jackson was on the ground that he would veto a re-charter of the United States Bank. Then, to force the issue, the bank was persuaded to apply for the new charter at once, and the question was fought over in both branches of Congress through most of the session, with final success to the bank. The chartering act was sent to the President on the 4th of July, 1832, and he returned it on the 10th with a veto message, in which all possible arguments against the bank, both sound and unsound, were arrayed with extraordinary skill. The effect of that message in the country was more fatal to the opponents of Jackson than they suspected till the returns of the election, four months later, came in.

The charter and the veto, 1832.

246. The Tariff Act of 1832. Almost simultaneously with the bank bill and the veto message, another gage of battle was thrown into the arena of combat by the passage and signing of a new tariff act, which amended the "abominations" of the act of 1828 so far as concerned the manufacturer's complaints, but which virtually challenged the nullifiers to do their worst. Clay had appeared in the Senate this session, and the act was substantially his, embodying the principles of his "American system," keeping high duties on articles in competition with home products, and lowering or abolishing them on commodities not produced at home. His imperious influence carried the measure, which reduced revenue very little, and that little in no way that suited the south. It was to go into effect on the 3d of March, 1833. The President was sufficiently satisfied with it to sign the act.

247. Reëlection of President Jackson. 1832. The

candidates were formally nominated by national conventions of the several parties. There had been some previous use of nominating conventions in certain States, but not much.

excitement of the presidential canvass was now at its height. The Democrats had formally nominated Jackson and Van Buren in the previous May, and the Anti-Masonic party, long before, had named William Wirt. That the opposition to Jackson was divided mattered little, for the country gave him an enormous majority over both Clay and Wirt. He carried every State except Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, and Kentucky, which went for Clay, Vermont, which gave Wirt a majority, and South Carolina, which had a nullifying candidate (John Floyd) of its own. The Bank of the United States was doomed to death by the popular verdict which its friends had invoked, and an impatient magistrate waited for the earliest opportunity to execute the decree.

248. The Nullifying Ordinance of South Carolina.—The "Compromise Tariff." 1832. But the President had nullification to deal with first. On the 24th of November a State Convention, called by the legislature of South Carolina, passed an ordinance which declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 to be null and of no effect in that State; which forbade appeals from State to Federal courts, in any case arising under the ordinance; and which declared that South Carolina would secede from the Union if resistance to her proceedings should be attempted by the United States; but the ordinance was not to take effect until the 1st of February, 1833.

And now it was that the best of the strong stuff in the character of President Jackson was called out. With a quiet and even gentle firmness that was most admirable he laid his iron hand on the rebellious State and bade it beware. Two vessels of the navy were ordered to Charleston, and General Scott was sent to the city with troops, not behind him, but within easy call; and then, on

the 10th of December, a proclamation, addressed to the people of South Carolina, first reasoned with them, to show the shallowness of the arguments by which they had been misled, and finally said to them with solemn emphasis: "The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you. . . . Their object is disunion. But be not deceived by names. Disunion by armed force is treason." [1]

President Jackson's proclamation, 1832.

It was a scant majority of the people of the State who had put the nullifiers in control of its government; but they answered the President with defiance. Their legislature proceeded to pass laws for carrying the ordinance of nullification into effect, and to put the State under arms; whereupon the President applied to Congress for further powers, to remove custom-houses, suspend or abolish customs districts, and use other means for meeting the demands of the situation, besides those of arms. The necessary legislation was undertaken at once; but conciliatory influences were working actively at the same time. Mr. Clay was now willing to lower the barriers of his "American system," and led the way in revising the tariff once more. The two measures, "Force Bill" and "Compromise Tariff," were under debate when the 1st of February came, and South Carolina postponed the operation of her ordinance to await the result. Both bills reached the President and were signed by him on the 2d of March. The "Compromise Tariff" act

South Carolina's defiance.

"Force Bill" and "Compromise Tariff," 1833.

[1] This proclamation, one of the most admirable and important of American state papers, is known to have been written by Edward Livingston, the Secretary of State.

provided for successive deductions from the rates of duty until, in 1842, there should be none to exceed 20 per cent. The nullifiers professed satisfaction, reassembled their convention, repealed their ordinance, and peace was restored. On both sides there were boasts of victory, with some ground for both ; but the puerile doctrine of nullification had been destroyed practically, and that should suffice for our satisfaction with the event.

249. Removal of Government Deposits from the United States Bank. 1833. And now the President was free to turn his attention to the Bank of the United States. He considered that the people, in reëlecting him by a great majority, had endowed him with the sovereignty of their will, and his arbitrary disposition was increased. Especially concerning the bank, he believed that he had received a command straight from the people, against which nothing should have weight. He doubted the soundness of the institution and the safety of the public funds that were trusted to it. At his request, Congress investigated and decided that the deposits in the bank were safe. It was the same Congress, however, which had voted to re-charter the bank, and, having no confidence in its judgment on the subject, the President determined to act on his own. By law, it was the Secretary of the Treasury, not the President, who had authority to remove the deposits, and Secretary McLane was a believer in the bank. McLane, accordingly, was transferred to the State Department, from which Mr. Livingston was sent as minister to France. Then the President invited to the Treasury a Mr. Duane, a known opponent of the bank, who might be expected to take the action desired. But Mr. Duane proved intractable in the matter, refusing to disturb the business of the country by a sudden with-

Congress and Secretary of Treasury favor the bank.

drawal of government deposits from the bank, and contending that it should not be done without congressional assent. His views were shared by a majority of the official cabinet; but the headstrong President, urged on by some of his advisers in the "kitchen cabinet," and by the Attorney-General, Roger B. Taney, would not be turned from the course he had determined to take. Duane was dismissed, and Taney was put in his place. In September the latter ordered the public money in the bank, about $10,000,000 in amount, to be drawn as needed, and no more deposits to be made. The effect, as predicted, was serious for a time; but the bank went through the disturbing operation, and, obtaining a charter from the State of Pennsylvania was carried on for a few years more, till a day of general ruin arrived and it went down in the crash.

Dismissal of Duane. Appointment of Taney, 1833.

Fate of the bank.

There are many good reasons for believing that the Bank of the United States, as a centralized monetary power, peculiarly exposed to political influences, was a dangerous institution to have growth, and that it was best for the country that it should be brought to an end; but sound principles of constitutional government were violated in the methods by which it was attacked and destroyed. A resolution by the Senate of censure on the President's conduct drew from him an elaborate protest, asserting the independence of the executive with great force. His party friends never ceased to demand the expunging of the censure from the Senate journal until they carried their point, in 1837.

Censure of the President expunged, 1833-1837.

250. Aggressive Anti-slavery Agitation. — The Abolitionists. 1831–1836. Other agitations were now in preparation for the country, among them a new excite-

ment of feeling on the subject of slavery. Hitherto the antagonism to slavery had been little more than a resisting disposition, manifested on occasional questions, like that which brought about the Missouri Compromise. Now it was becoming aggressive, and was being organized for persistent attack, not merely to oppose and restrict, but to destroy. Its crusade was opened in a startling way by William Lloyd Garrison, a young man, then unknown and poor, who began the publication of "The Liberator," a small "abolition" journal, at Boston, in 1831. Garrison attacked slavery as an intolerable crime against humanity, for which the whole nation was accountable no less than the slaveholding States, and he denounced every compromise with the latter, including the compromises of the Federal Constitution and the Constitution itself. At first there were not many to approve the violence and the indifference to all consequences of disunion and civil conflict which this proposed; and the abolition agitation might have had little influence for many years, if the slaveholding interest, in fierce endeavors to put it down, had not attempted to crush free opinion and free speech in all the States.

William Lloyd Garrison, 1831.

The founding of "The Liberator" in 1831 was followed by the organization of a New England Anti-slavery Society in 1832, and of an American society in the following year. If the early membership of those societies was small, the zeal in them was burning and their activity intense. Through public meetings and printed tracts and periodicals, they labored with incessant energy to "rouse the national conscience;" but the first important effect of their work was an excitement of rage and alarm in the slaveholding States. The people in those States were

Anti-slavery societies, 1831-1832.

stirred, not only by resentment at the attack on their labor system, which they looked upon as the most righteous and divinely sanctioned in the world, but by fear of the effect of the agitation on their slaves. They lived in dread of insurrections, and a recent murderous rising in Virginia (1831), led by one Nat Turner, had filled them with fresh alarm. Garrison and his fellow abolitionists were denounced as malignant "incendiaries," whose purpose was to madden the enslaved blacks, incite them to revolt, and bring death and ruin on the south. Especially on that ground it was demanded that they should be silenced by force, — that their orators should be imprisoned, their presses stopped, their publications denied the use of the mails.

Nat Turner insurrection, 1831.

This fierce clamor from the south for the suppression of abolitionist speech and print had three effects, on three classes of people, in the north. It roused people of one class to defend the threatened freedom of tongue and pen; awakened them to new and serious thinking on the subject of slavery, and prepared them for any contention with it that did not repudiate the Constitution or recklessly imperil the national life. It moved people of another class to sympathy with the wrath of the slaveholders; made them unflinching political allies of the slaveholding interest, ready to go to any lengths with it, in Congress, or state legislatures, or courts of law; and no less ready to serve it by mobbing the abolitionists, destroying their presses, and threatening their lives. People in the third class were merely fretted by the disturbance of the country. The class which grew most in numbers was the first. It was the anti-slavery sentiment of that increasing body of citizens which gradually dominated the free States and controlled political events.

Three effects of the agitation.

251. Suppression in Congress of the Right of Petition. 1835–1840. The first practical political question to be raised by the anti-slavery agitation concerned the right of petition, and it was forced on Congress by attempts to deny a hearing to appeals for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. That the national government had supreme jurisdiction over its own seat could not be denied; nor could anybody dispute the guarantee, in the First Amendment to the Constitution, of "the right of the people . . . to petition the government." Nevertheless, in the session of 1835–36, when petitions for emancipation in the District began to reach Congress in great numbers, a resolute effort to forbid their reception was begun. It was a fatuous undertaking, because it stirred infinitely more feeling in the north than anti-slavery agitators could possibly produce. More fatuous still was the attempt to exclude anti-slavery literature from the mails. This had the support of President Jackson, who recommended, in his message of 1835, the passage of a law to prohibit "the circulation in the southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection." The anti-slavery societies denied that anything more "incendiary" than the doctrine of human rights in the Declaration of Independence was ever sent by them into the south, or that they circulated anything among the slaves to excite revolt; nor does any fact contradictory of their denial appear to have been shown; but Mr. Calhoun and his followers seemed determined to make slavery a forbidden subject to all tongues and pens but their own. Even the law proposed by Jackson was not acceptable to Calhoun. He demanded that the States themselves should determine what printed matter

Emancipation petitions opposed.

Exclusion from the mails.

should and should not be delivered in them through the United States mails, and he introduced a bill to that end; but it suffered defeat in the Senate, and never reached the House.

The most effectual agitators of feeling on the subject of slavery, in all those years of impassioned agitation, were not the orators of abolition, but Calhoun and the public men whom he led. They could let pass no opportunity for disputing the rights of opposed opinion and speech; thus compelling men to strike at slavery in defence of free institutions at large. From December, 1835, until January, 1840, the struggle to uphold the right of petition in Congress was maintained. It was then that John Quincy Adams performed the highest service of his life. After leaving the presidency he had accepted an election to the House of Representatives, taking his seat in 1831. His own opinion was against an agitation at that time for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; but he held the right of petition to be a sacred right, and he made himself its most resolute and powerful champion in the House.

John Quincy Adams, 1835-1845.

The slaveholding interest drew allies enough from the north to carry a resolution (known afterward as "the Atherton Gag") through the House, in Dec. 1838, which made it the rule that all petitions and memorials relating to slavery "shall, without being printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." From session to session thereafter, while Mr. Adams and other members continued to present petitions in always increasing numbers, this rule, which laid them unnoticed on the table, was made more stringent, until finally, in January, 1840, the House was prevailed upon to defy the Constitution entirely, by re-

"The Atherton Gag," 1838.

Petitioning suppressed, 1840.

solving that "no petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the slave trade between the States or Territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever."

252. Texas. 1835–1837. The "Slave Power," as it began to be called, had now succeeded in arraying all the feelings and judgments that are defensive of free institutions against itself. Nevertheless, for the time being, it was an almost irresistible power in the nation, made so by alliances with ambitious politicians in the north, who were drawn to it by the attraction of its solidarity in the south. It was preparing, moreover, to increase its power, by further expansions of territory in which to create new slave States. The intention to acquire Texas for that purpose had been always in the southern mind, and the time for fulfilling the intention seemed now to be at hand. So many American and British settlers had gone into that province of the Mexican republic, since the Spanish rule in Mexico was overthrown, that their number was said to be 20,000 in 1835. Generally they were looking forward to becoming part of the United States, and southern statesmen were planning to that end. These American and other English-speaking Texans were using slave labor, in defiance of the Mexican government, which had prohibited the importation of slaves in 1824 and decreed emancipation in 1829. In other matters they paid little respect to Mexican authority, then weakened by civil conflicts, and, after some collisions with President Santa Anna, they declared their independence, on the 2d of March, 1836. Before they were well organized, Santa Anna entered the country with

Alliances of Slave Power.

Texan Independence declared, 1836.

a Mexican army and committed some dreadful atrocities at a fortified mission church, called the Alamo, and at Goliad; but that was the end of his success. On the 21st of April his army was crushingly beaten at San Jacinto, and he was taken prisoner by a small force of Texans under General Sam Houston, of Tennessee. The independence of Texas, though unacknowledged by Mexico, was won by the single battle. In October a constitution was adopted and a republican government organized, with Houston as president, to which government the United States gave recognition in the following spring. The Texas question stood at this point when Jackson's administration closed.

The Alamo, Goliad, San Jacinto, 1836.

253. Extraordinary Growth of the Country. — Beginnings of a Mania of Speculation. 1825–1833. While the country went through the moral agitations and political excitements of these last years of the Jackson régime, its whole economic system was in a more than equally fevered state. Since recovery from the "crisis" of 1819 (see sect. **221**), the increase in population, the spread of western settlement, the rise of new towns and growth of older cities, the eager activity of public and private enterprise in every field, had had no precedent in the modern history of the world. Between the census of 1820 and that of 1840 the total population rose from 9,638,000 to 17,053,000, of which latter number 9,728,000 were in the northern States, and 7,334,000 (including 2,486,000 slaves) were in the south. Ohio grew in that brief period from 576,000 to 1,502,000; Indiana from 145,000 to 678,000; Illinois from 53,000 to 472,000; Michigan (admitted as a State in 1837) from 8000 to 211,000; Arkansas (admitted in 1836) from 12,000 to 77,000;

Increase of population, 1820-1840.

Missouri from 56,000 to 323,000; and almost the whole of this prodigious advance was prior to 1837. It had been stimulated immensely by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, and quite as much, perhaps, by the rapid multiplication of steamboats on rivers and lakes. No other country in the world had utilized the steamboat so rapidly, or gained so much from it; for no other had such waterways opening into such expanses of undeveloped land. Railways, with steam locomotion, had their beginning in 1830, and 1273 miles had been built in the United States within the next six years.

Steamboat and railway.

In the rush of this unparalleled progress it is not at all strange that even sober-minded people lost their heads, and saw no limit to the continued working of the new agencies of travel and transportation that were driving it on. It seemed possible to mark a thousand spots where new towns would spring up in the next few years; and no less possible to forecast the growth of existing cities and towns. So speculation, especially in land, leaped from the reckoning of present facts to future possibilities, and went wild.

Speculation.

254. Second Era of "Wild-cat" Banking and Inflation. 1833–1837. It was just at the time when this fever of speculation was prepared for by the circumstances of the day that a mischievous stimulant was given to it by President Jackson's removal of government deposits from the Bank of the United States to a large number of state banks. For a short time, while the change was going on, it gave business a check; but that soon passed and was followed by quite opposite effects. Naturally there was a scramble for the deposits, and a fresh output of state charters for new banks, soon running into a new

Distribution of United States Bank funds.

era of "wild-cat" banking, worse than that which followed the War of 1812 (see sect. **221**). Again there was an inflated and depreciated paper currency, an inflated credit system, and the speculative spirit was intoxicated still more.

Then came another measure of government which helped the mischief on. The last of the public debt having been extinguished in 1836, and a surplus exceeding $42,000,000 having accumulated in the national treasury, an act was passed which ordered the distribution of all but $5,000,000 of this surplus, as a loan without interest, in four quarterly instalments, among the States. The prospect of that large addition to funds in the States, for all sorts of public improvements and other purposes, gave still another impulse to speculation; but when it came, in 1837, to the transferring of $9,000,000 every three months from banks all over the country into state treasuries, the unsound monetary system began to give way under the strain.

Distribution of surplus revenue, 1837.

Before that effect arrived, however, the President, in his headstrong way, against the advice of his official cabinet, had struck a blow that would, very likely, have sufficed to bring about the inevitable crash. Of the excessive revenue flowing into the treasury, a large part came from the speculative buying of public lands. Until the summer of 1836 the government received most of this land revenue in bank-notes of very uncertain worth. Then the President, becoming suspicious of the soundness of the banks and the value of their paper, issued an order that is famous in history as the "specie circular" of July, 1836, directing that coin only should be taken in payment for public lands. This, acting together with the draft on the banks for the

The "specie circular," 1836.

surplus funds, and the distribution of money in the country with no reference to current needs of business, gave a finishing touch to the unsound condition of affairs; but the general downfall and consequent misery did not come upon the country until after General Jackson had finished his presidential career.

255. Election of Martin Van Buren. — Rise of the Whig Party. 1836. Had the experience of 1837 come a few months earlier than it did, the election of the fall of 1836 might not have ratified Jackson's choice of Van Buren to take his place. As it was, the able politician-statesman of New York was elected President by a clear popular majority over three opposing candidates. The National Republicans, the Anti-Masons, and some other elements opposed to the Jacksonian Democracy had now united, and had taken the name of Whigs. Their candidate was General William H. Harrison. Judge Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, was a rival Democratic candidate, and Daniel Webster received the votes of the Massachusetts Whigs. Of the electoral votes, Van Buren received 170, Harrison 73, White 26, Webster 14.

The Whig party.

256. Influences and Effects of the Presidency of Jackson. It is more than possible that the natural movement of events, under any presidency in the government, would have swept the country on to a catastrophe in business, as ruinous, perhaps, as that which came in 1837; but President Jackson is responsible none the less for the effects of his arbitrary dealing with matters which he did not comprehend. In some degree, the panic of 1837 must be counted among his legacies to the country, when the eight years of his rule (called by more than one historian his "reign") at Washington was closed. The legacies of effect from that extraordinary adminis-

tration of a personal will in the government were numerous and lasting and large. The national character was affected profoundly, through one whole generation, at least; for the ruder and less educated people were fascinated and strangely influenced by this roughly powerful man. In one way it was an influence immensely good, helping to popularize national feelings, which still needed that culture, even in the north and west. Though he tried, as a southerner, to champion "state rights," Jackson's political instincts were wholly national, his patriotism wholly American, and his admirers throughout the country were made to feel as he felt. He gave them new reasons, too, for national pride. His peremptory way of doing things had some fortunate results in foreign affairs. It brought the country very close to war with France in 1835, but it accomplished a settlement of long-pending claims for French depredations on American commerce in the Napoleonic wars. The persistent refusal of England to open her West India trade to American shipping was overcome in 1830, and, though that was done by the suave diplomacy of Van Buren, Jackson got the credit of "bringing the English to terms."

Growth of national feeling.

Successful foreign policy.

On the other hand, the disposition of General Jackson to be "a law unto himself" was not calculated to disseminate law-abiding habits and respect for legal processes among the people who looked up to him with admiring eyes; and the country appears to have shown a quite marked deterioration in that respect — a marked tendency to lawlessness and disorder — during the period in which his example of character was the most conspicuous one and his influence very great.

Tendency to lawlessness.

257. The Business Collapse of 1837. In the early days of April, 1837, when President Van Buren had been

barely a month in the White House, the breaking of bubbles in the business world was begun, by commercial failures starting at New York. Each downfall caused others, and before the month ended the spreading process of panic and ruin had strewn the whole country with wrecks. On the 10th of May the New York banks suspended the redemption of their notes in coin, and their example was followed everywhere within the next week. The prostration of business was the most nearly universal that the country had known.

Specie payment suspended.

To most people the catastrophe was a terrifying surprise, and its causes were utterly misunderstood. It was quite commonly supposed to be altogether a consequence of bad measures by the government, having the "specie circular" for its immediate cause and the overthrow of the Bank of the United States for a cause more remote. That the general conditions in business had been fatally disordered in themselves, and that the government had done no more at the most than to quicken the disease, was a fact which not many could see. Those who believed that the trouble came wholly from ill-doings of the government were equally persuaded that the government might undo what it had done. Immediately there was clamor for a withdrawal of the "specie circular," and for a re-nationalizing of the Bank of the United States. Van Buren had the wisdom and the courage to resist those demands; and, among economists of the present day, enlightened by the added experience of sixty and more years, there is hardly a question of the sound statesmanship of his course, in which he braved adverse public opinion to the end of his term.

Collapse not understood.

Van Buren's wisdom.

258. Action of President Van Buren. — His "In-

dependent Treasury" System. 1837–1840. Having called a special session of Congress, to meet in September, the President set the circumstances of the country and of the government before it in a message of rare clearness and force. The aim of his exposition was to show that, instead of being called upon to palliate the effects of past excesses in business, by remedies that would only delay a true recovery, the government should take a lesson from what had happened, and should separate itself from the whole system of commercial finance, with the natural working of which it ought never to interfere. Since the suspension of the banks, the Treasury had been holding its own funds, and the President urged that that be made the established practice for the future. He asked Congress to provide for the system of an "independent treasury," with branches in the chief cities (called commonly the "sub-treasury" system), and so make it impossible for politics to enter into what ought to be a purely business management of banking affairs. Time has proved the wisdom of this proposal, and the independence of the Treasury has long been a fixed fact in the United States; but President Van Buren argued for it vainly at the time. The House rejected a bill in accord with his recommendations, which the Senate had passed; but he pressed the measure persistently until, in 1840, it became law.

An independent treasury.

It is the distinction of Van Buren's administration that it contended bravely for sound principles of political economy, touching money and banking, and that it did so with important educating effects. The leaders of the President's party in New York, Silas Wright and others, shared his intelligent views on these subjects, and their influence brought about the adoption, in 1838, of a general banking law in that State,

New York banking law.

which stopped the loose chartering of banks by special acts, and set a potent example of reform.

Apparent recovery from the great financial depression of 1837 was more rapid than the real cure. In exactly a year from their suspension the New York banks felt able to resume specie payments, and resumption was quite general in the summer and fall of 1838. Trade sprang up again in too lively a spirit; there was too much buying of foreign goods, and land speculation began to revive. The result was a relapse in 1839, brought on by a state of stress in England; and from this second collapse of business the recovery of the country was slow and hard.

Recovery and relapse.

259. The Texas Question. 1837. It was during these years, as related already, that the exciting and momentous struggle in Congress over the right of petition went on. As one effect of that new conflict, the Texas question began now to loom large in the politics of the time. A strong resistance to the projected annexation of the Texan republic, as slave territory, was prepared. Proposals for annexation came to President Van Buren from a Texas agent at Washington, in August, 1837 and were declined. To accept them meant probable war with Mexico, as well as offence to a large body of the American people, and the question was not allowed to reach Congress, through any action of the executive, during Van Buren's term.

Annexation resisted.

260. Rebellion in Canada. 1837–1838. An outbreak of rebellion in Canada, in 1837–38, growing out of a bad system of colonial government, awakened much sympathy in the United States, and a popular desire to help it on. Our government had difficulty in keeping the nation from becoming involved in another war with Great Britain, especially when a militia force from

Canada invaded the American shore of the Niagara and burned a small steamer, the Caroline, which the rebels had used. In faithfully carrying out the obligations of international law and working for the preservation of peace, the President offended much heated public feeling, especially in his own State.

261. Presidential Election of 1840. In this, as in his dealing with the business troubles of the day, President Van Buren did his duty at the cost of public favor, and did it with a firmness that claims high respect. He coveted a reëlection; but that approval of his administration was denied. He was renominated by his party in 1840, with little chance of success. The Whigs put General Harrison in nomination, again disappointing the ambition of their leader, Henry Clay. For Vice-President they nominated John Tyler, of Virginia, a Calhoun Democrat, who had opposed Jackson's bank and tariff measures, but whose present party position was not well defined. No "platform," or declaration of principles and policy, was put forth by the Whig convention, its plan being to win votes on the mere demand for a "change." The plan was carried out with success, in an extraordinary campaign of songs and hurrahs. There was not much discussion of political questions, but more singing, cheering, marching, and meeting in great gatherings for every kind of political merrymaking than was ever known before or since; and "Tippecanoe and Tyler too"[1] were borne

Character of campaign.

[1] General Harrison figured in the campaign principally as the hero of the battle of Tippecanoe (see sect. **198**). A foolish attempt by one of the Democratic papers to belittle him, by saying that a pension of a few hundred dollars and a barrel of hard cider would content him in his log cabin for life, gave a cue to the Whigs which they turned to good account. Log cabins and hard cider became effective features of the Harrison demonstrations.

into office on a wave of enthusiasm which nothing could resist. Van Buren carried only one northern State, Illinois, and but five States in the south. His electoral vote was 60; Harrison's, 234.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

239. President Jackson and his Advisers.

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240. The "Spoils System."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Removals from office before Jackson. Lalor, iii. 565–569; Morse, *Jefferson*, 215–225; Benton, i. 159–162.

2. Introduction of the four years' term of office. 3. "Spoils system" in New York and other States. 4. Its invasion of the national public service. Roosevelt, *Benton*, 79–85; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 332–336; Sumner, *Jackson*, 145–149; Wilson, *Division*, 26–27, 30–34; Schouler, iii. 175, 453, 455–462; Fiske, *Civil Gov't*, 261–263; Shepard, 38–48, 177–183, 199; Sargent, i. 282–287; Benton, i. 160, 162; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 531–535.

241. Forecast of Presidential Policy.

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2. "State rights" opposition of the President to internal improvements by the general government. Burgess, *Middle Period*,

166–170; Sumner, *Jackson*, 193–194; Wilson, 38–39; Schouler, iii. 480–481.

242. Treatment of Indian Tribes.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Violation of national treaties by Georgia upheld. 2. Refusal to enforce mandates of the Supreme Court. 3. Removal of tribes to Indian Territory. 4. Second Seminole War and Black Hawk War. Sumner, *Jackson*, 180–183; Wilson, 35–38; Schouler, iii. 477–480; Benton, ch. li.; Sargent, i. 177–179, 209–213; Holst, *United States*, ii. 292–311.

243. President Jackson and the Protective Tariff. — Calhoun and Nullification.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Attitude of President Jackson towards the protective policy. 2. Feeling in the south. — Revival of the "nullification" theory. — Calhoun's writings (text in MacDonald, ii. 231–237). Schouler, iii. 468, 481–482, 440–444, 489–491; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 170–184; Wilson, *Division*, 41–52; Holst, *Calhoun*, 76–84, 96–103; Holst, *United States*, i. 459–470; Sumner, *Jackson*, 207–220; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 88–96; Clay, v. 400–406; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 544–548.

3. The Hayne and Webster debate, and how it arose (text in Webster, iii. 248–355; MacDonald, ii. 240–259; Johnston, *Am. Orations*, i. 213–282). Schouler, iii. 482–488; Benton, i. ch. xliv.; Sargent, i. 169–174.

4. The President's feeling. — His rupture with Calhoun. Sumner, *Jackson*, 151–159; Holst, *Calhoun*, 87–96; Wilson, *Division*, 52–54; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 97–98; Schouler, iii. 488–489, 498–501; Benton, i. ch. xlvi., liii.

244. Cabinet Reconstruction.

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1. Cause of cabinet changes in 1831. 2. The new cabinet. 3. Change in the "kitchen cabinet." Sumner, *Jackson*, 159–163; Wilson, *Division*, 54–55; Schouler, iii. 501–502; Benton, i. ch. liv.; Sargent, i. 184–186.

245. The Bank Question in the Presidential Canvass.

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246. The Tariff Act of 1832.

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1. Principles embodied in the tariff of 1832. 2. Its offensiveness to the south. Taussig, 102–105; Elliott, 246–266; Schurz, *Clay*, i. 357–365; Sumner, *Jackson*, 221–223; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 184–189, 220–221; Wilson, *Division*, 55–59; Holst, *United States*, i. 471–475; Peck, 153, 158–161; Clay, v. 437–486; Benton, i. ch. lxix.

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247. Reëlection of President Jackson.

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248. Nullifying Ordinance of South Carolina. — The "Compromise Tariff."

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1. Ordinance of nullification (text in MacDonald, ii. 268–271; Larned, *Ready Ref.*). 2. Action taken by the President. — His proclamation (text in MacDonald, ii. 273–283). Holst, *United States*, i. 475–484; Sumner, *Jackson*, 281–285; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 221–231; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 4–9; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 100–103; Peck, 193–197; Benton, i. ch. lxxviii.–lxxx.

3. Action in Congress. — The "Force Bill" (text in MacDonald, ii. 284–289) and the "Compromise Tariff." 4. The settlement of the difficulty. Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 9–22; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 231–241; Sumner, *Jackson*, 285–291; Holst, *Calhoun*, 104–109; Holst, *United States*, i. 501–505; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 103–113; Taussig, 109–112; Peck, 203–214; Wilson, *Division*, 59–68; Clay, v. 536–569; Benton, i. ch. lxxxi.–lxxxvi.

RESEARCH. — De Tocqueville's reasoning, in 1831–1835, as to "the chances of duration of the American Union." Tocqueville, i. 491–535.

249. Removal of Government Deposits from the United States Bank.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Question of the safety of government deposits in the bank. 2. The President's removal of them, and how it was accomplished (texts in MacDonald, ii. 289–303). Sumner, *Jackson*, 291–310; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 123–124; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 25–31; Holst, *United States*, ii. 51–68; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 279–281; Shepard, 213–215; Peck, 217–222; Wilson, *Division*, 80–82; Kendall, 374–392; Benton, i. ch. lxxv., lxxvii., and 371–400; Clay, v. 575–620; Webster, iii. 506–551, iv. 3–81.

3. After history of the bank. Sumner, *Jackson*, 337–342; Benton, i. ch. cxi.

4. View to be taken of the overthrow of the bank. 5. The Senate's censure of the President. — The President's protest (text in MacDonald, ii. 306–317). The expunging of the resolution. Holst, *United States*, ii. 68–76; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 31–43, 99–106; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 132–136, 139–142; Peck, 224–241, 317–327; Benton, i. ch. xcix.–ci., ciii., cxxii.–cxxiv., cxli., clix.–clxi.; Kendall, 392–422; Sargent, 258–273, 332–344; Webster, iv. 103–147, 292–297; Clay, vi. 45–60.

250. Aggressive Anti-slavery Agitation. — The Abolitionists.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Beginning of a crusade against slavery. 2. Uncompromising ground of the Abolitionists. 3. Influence of their agitation pro-

moted by the slaveholding interest. 4. Formation of anti-slavery societies. 5. Causes of feeling in the south. — Fears of insurrection. — Demands for silencing the abolitionists. 6. Differing effects in the north. 7. The anti-slavery sentiment that grew in the free States. Garrison, i. ch. vii.–xiv.; Goldwin Smith, 30–96; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 70–78; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 244–251; Holst, *United States*, ii. 80–118; Peck, 269–273; Hart, *Chase*, 36–39, 55–66; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 595–597, 602–614.

RESEARCH. — President Jackson and other leading men in Washington, as seen by a sagacious foreign observer in 1835. Martineau, i. 147–184.

251. Suppression in Congress of the Right of Petition.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Attempt to reject petitions for emancipation in the District of Columbia. 2. Attempt to exclude anti-slavery writings from the mails. Holst, *Calhoun*, 124–139, 143–150; Holst, *United States*, ii. 120–139, 235–245; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 78–86; Shepard, 233–238; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 163–170; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 251–261; Benton, i. ch. cxxx.–cxxxi.; Peck, 273–281; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 619–622.

3. Persistent agitation of the slavery question by Calhoun and his followers. — The rights they disputed. 4. Defence of the right of petition by John Quincy Adams. 5. The "Atherton Gag," and final suppression of anti-slavery petitions. Holst, *United States*, ii. 245–289, 469–479; Holst, *Calhoun*, 165–181; Schouler, iv. 296–302, 307–308, 423–425; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 152–163; Benton, i. ch. cxxxv., ii. ch. xxxiii.

RESEARCH. — The attempt in 1842 to censure John Quincy Adams for presenting a petition which asked for the dissolution of the Union.

252. Texas.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Feelings which the "slave power" had arrayed against itself. 2. Sources of its power. 3. Desire for Texas. — Situation in that Mexican province. 4. American and British settlers in Texas. 5. The successful Texan revolt. Roosevelt, *Benton*, 173–

181; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 290–294; Holst, *United States*, ii. 551–574; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 87–91; Wilson, *Division*, 141–143; Benton, i. ch. cxliv.–cxlv.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 637–641.

253. Extraordinary National Growth. — Beginnings of a Speculative Mania.

Topics and References.

1. Increase of population and spread of settlement since 1820. 2. The principal stimulations. 3. Fevered spirit of speculation. Shepard, 247–252; Wilson, *Division*, 89–90, 102–104; Holst, *United States*, ii. 173–174, 178–186; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 113–114; Sumner, *Jackson*, 136, 322–325.

254. Second Era of "Wild-cat" Banking and Inflation.

Topics and References.

1. Effect of President Jackson's removal of deposits. 2. Distribution of surplus revenue and its effect. The President's "specie circular" (text in MacDonald, ii. 327–329) and its effect. Shepard, 253–261; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 144–156, 189–192; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 115–127; Wilson, *Division*, 86–88, 91–92; Holst, *United States*, ii. 174–178, 186–194; Peck, 299–306; Benton, i. ch. cxlvi., clv.

255. Election of Martin Van Buren.

Topics and References.

1. Circumstances and result of the presidential election of 1836. 2. Formation of the Whig party. Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 128, 132; Shepard, 219–241; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 95–97; Sumner, *Jackson*, 374–382; Benton, i. ch. clii.

256. Influence and Effects of Jackson's Presidency.

Topics and References.

1. President Jackson and the "Crisis" of 1837. 2. His influence on the character of his generation. 3. His national spirit. 4. The good and evil of his influence. Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 106–112;

Sumner, *Jackson*, 279–280; Peck, 329–341; Holst, *United States*, ii. 76–79; Peck, 329–341.

5. Foreign affairs in President Jackson's administration. Sumner, *Jackson*, 164–171, 343–348.

RESEARCH. — General Jackson in private life, as described by his intimate friends. Benton, i. ch. clxv.; Kendall, 686; Parton, *Jackson*, iii. ch. xlii.

257. Business Collapse of 1837.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Commercial failures and bank suspensions. 2. Common misunderstanding of the causes. 3. Demands on the government resisted by the President. Shepard, 245–273; Sumner, *Am. Currency*, 102–161; Walker, *Money*, ch. xxi.; Peck, 349–356; Holst, *United States*, ii. 194–201; Schouler, iv. 276–282; Benton, ii. ch. ii.–vii.

258. Action of President Van Buren. — His "Independent Treasury" System.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Argument of the President's message. 2. Plan and purpose of the "independent treasury" system. 3. Distinction of President Van Buren's administration. Shepard, ch. ix.; Kinley; Bolles, ii. 351–358; Wilson, *Division*, 94–95, 97–98; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 132–144; Holst, *United States*, ii. 201–208; Peck, 356–369; Schouler, iv. 282–285, 324–325; Webster, iv. 402–499; Clay, vi. 63, 86, 94–133, 170–194; Benton, ii. ch. viii., xi.

4. The general banking law of New York. Wilson, *Division*, 95–97.

5. Apparent recovery of business in 1838, and relapse in 1839. Holst, *United States*, ii. 210–217; Shepard, 317–318; Schouler, iv. 292–294, 347–348; Benton, ii. ch. xx.–xxiii.

259. The Texas Question.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Annexation declined by President Van Buren. — Growth of opposition. Burgess, *Middle Period*, 295–301; Schouler, iv. 303–307; Shepard, 306–307; Benton, ii. ch. xxiv.

260. Rebellion in Canada.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Difficulty in avoiding war with England. Lodge, *Webster*, 246–249, 252; Shepard, 300–306; Lothrop, 28–37; Benton, ii. ch. lxxv.–lxxvi.

261. Presidential Election of 1840.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Re-nomination of Van Buren. 2. Whig nomination of General Harrison and John Tyler. 3. Peculiar character of the canvass and election. — The result: Holst, *United States*, ii. 360–405; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 171–189; Shepard, 323–339; Schouler, iv. 327–341; Sargent, ii. 89–96, 105–111; Benton, ii. ch. lviii.

SECTIONAL CONTENTION. 1840–1860.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXPANSION TO THE PACIFIC: FOR FREE LABOR OR SLAVE LABOR: WHICH? 1841–1848.

262. Death of President Harrison. — Vice-President Tyler as President. — His Rupture with the Whigs. 1841–1842. General Harrison enjoyed the honors of the presidency a single month. He died, after a brief illness, on the 4th of April, 1841, and the Vice-President was called to his place. This put Mr. Tyler in a false position and produced an unfortunate state of things. He was a Democrat in his political opinions, elected to office by Whig votes. In the vice-presidency there might have been no serious friction between him and the party with which he was expected to act; but in the presidency it was sure to come. More than friction came, in fact, soon after Congress met for a special session in June. Both houses were controlled by the Whigs, and both acted under the imperious lead of Clay. Their first work was to sweep away the independent treasury which Van Buren had labored so hard to create, and President Tyler signed their bill. Likewise he approved another measure in the Whig programme, which was to divide annually among the States the net proceeds from the sales

Independent treasury abolished, 1841.

of public lands. In most parts of the country this distribution was demanded eagerly as a measure of relief, many of the States having overburdened themselves with debt in the wild period before 1837. Some were failing to pay interest on their bonds; a few were bringing disgrace and discredit on the country by talk of repudiating their debts. The distributing act passed; but with the proviso that, whenever tariff duties should be raised above twenty per cent., the distribution of land revenues should cease; and that proviso, as we shall see, made the act of no effect.

Defaulting States, 1841.

But these were not the measures that Clay and the Whigs had most at heart. Above all things they wanted to incorporate a new Bank of the United States, and it was on a bill for that purpose that their clash with the President came. He vetoed it, on grounds which might, apparently, be overcome. After consultation with him, another measure was framed, supposed to be adapted to his views; but either he had been strangely misunderstood, or else his views had changed, for when the new bill reached him he vetoed that, too. This ended the last attempt ever made to set up a great national bank, related in a semi-official way to the government of the United States. Most students of the subject now give approval to Tyler's veto, as well as to Jackson's; but President Tyler's conduct in connection with the second bill does not appear in a favorable light.

Bank vetoes, 1841.

The Whigs broke relations with the President and opened hostilities at once. Every member of the cabinet (he had retained Harrison's) resigned, excepting Daniel Webster, who was Secretary of State, and who had opened an important negotiation with England which he wished to carry

Resignation of Whig cabinet.

through. The administration became practically a Democratic one, though not acknowledged as such by the Democratic party, and the fruits of their victory in 1840 were snatched from the Whigs. Their next conflict with the President occurred upon a revision (1842) of the "Compromise Tariff" of 1833, made necessary by so great a falling off in the revenue from customs that the government was in distress. Many of the rates of duty were raised above twenty per cent., and this, by the effect of the proviso above mentioned, rescinded the act for distributing land revenues. The Whigs sought to avert that effect, but the President would not consent.

Tariff of 1842.

263. "Dorr Rebellion" in Rhode Island. — Anti-Rent Disturbances in New York. 1841–1844. Two parts of the country, Rhode Island and New York, were disturbed seriously at this time by movements of popular discontent. The old royal charter of Rhode Island was still the basis of the government of that State, and its restriction of the suffrage to freeholders of land had never been changed. In 1841 the disfranchised citizens attempted to take by force what the privileged class refused to give, and set up a government at Providence which disputed authority with that of the old régime. The latter, having law on its side, could claim support from the federal government, which was given with effect. The revolutionary movement (called "the Dorr rebellion" from the name of its leader and governor-elect) collapsed in 1842; but its end was attained. Rhode Island adopted a constitution which broadened the suffrage and silenced discontent.

Suffrage in Rhode Island.

The New York troubles had an equally ancient origin, in the old creation of Dutch patroon and English

manorial estates (see sect. **33**). The lands in those huge estates were let to tenants on perpetual leases, subject to annual rent payments and other claims, which grew more irksome as time went on and as democratic ideas gained force. The manorial titles were disputed, and combinations were formed to resist payment of rents, by both lawful and unlawful means. At this period the doings of the "anti-renters" were very disturbing for some years. They failed to break the obnoxious land titles; but the troubles were ended gradually by concessions which enabled most of the tenants to buy their lands.

Anti-rent disturbances, 1841-1844.

264. The Ashburton Treaty. 1842. Webster remained in the Tyler cabinet until May, 1843, when he withdrew, having finished an important task. Ever since the peace of 1783, our northeastern boundary, between Maine, New Hampshire, and the British provinces, had been in dispute. Webster had now brought it to a settlement, in a treaty concluded with Lord Ashburton, who came to Washington with special powers. The so-called Ashburton Treaty, signed August 9, 1842, included an important arrangement for coöperation with England in a naval policing of the African coast, to stop the piratical slave trade. Furthermore, it disposed of questions arising out of the Canadian rebellion, or "Patriot War," and provided for the extradition of criminals escaping from one country to the other; but it left open the Oregon boundary question, which was destined to make trouble very soon.

265. Texas Annexation Treaty rejected by the Senate. 1844. Webster in the State Department had blocked action looking to the annexation of Texas, and his retirement gave the President a free hand to do in that matter according to his desire. President Tyler

gave the portfolio of the State Department to a strong annexationist, Mr. Upshur, and opened secret negotiations with the Texas government, in the midst of which Mr. Upshur was accidentally killed. Mr. Calhoun was then induced (March, 1844) to take the State Department, for the purpose of carrying the Texas business through. The result was a treaty of annexation, signed and sent to the Senate in April, but unexpectedly rejected there, after six weeks of debate, by 35 votes against 16. The secret manner in which the President had acted, and the probable consequence of war with Mexico, weighed heavily against the treaty, even among southern public men. Jackson used his influence in its favor; but Senator Benton, of Missouri, and other staunch Jackson Democrats, were against it, and it was opposed in public letters by Clay and Van Buren, as meaning war, and as being a new cause of discord in the land.

Calhoun negotiates, 1844.

The vital issue in the matter was that which arose between the "slave power," seeking an enlargement of its own absolute dominion, and the increasing opposition in the northern States to the aggressions of that power. The undisguised object of the acquisition was to secure four or more new slave States. Ingenious efforts were made by Calhoun and Tyler to convince the south that English and Mexican influences in Texas would abolish slavery there, unless the country was taken out of their reach; and those arguments, which consolidated the south for annexation, turned more feeling against it in the north. Whether the opposing forces would suffice or not to defeat the project was now to be seen; for the question went immediately to the great jury of the nation, in the presidential and congressional election of 1844.

True object of Texas annexation.

266. The Texas Question and the Presidential Election. — Annexation accomplished. 1844–1845. Both parties had made their presidential nominations while the Texas treaty was pending in the Senate. The Whigs nominated Clay by acclamation, four days after his public announcement of opposition to annexation, and thus the party accepted his ground. Van Buren, on the other hand, lost the Democratic nomination by reason of his similar declaration. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, lately Speaker of the House of Representatives, whose principal recommendation to the convention was the ardor of his desire for Texas, became the nominee. As a cunning bid for northern consent to the taking in of Texas, the American claim to Oregon was coupled with it, in a resolution which demanded "the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period." Both proposals were thus put in the light of being merely for the taking of what had formerly belonged to us; and the phrase "re-annexation of Texas" imposed, without doubt, on many ignorant minds. It was founded on the theory that Texas belonged by right to the Louisiana territory which we bought from France (see sect. **179**); but it ignored the fact that we had abandoned that claim in our treaty of 1819 with Spain (see sect. **224**).

Party platform.

Texas and Oregon, 1844.

News of the doings of this Democratic convention, held at Baltimore, May 27–29, 1844, were transmitted to Washington by the Morse system of electric telegraphy, over a line that had been opened only four days before, and which was the first ever built.

Birth of the electric telegraph, 1844.

Distinctly, the presidential election of 1844 turned upon the question of annexing Texas, and it seems to

be certain that Clay would have won on that issue if he had kept himself firmly on the ground which he took at first. But he grew anxious about southern votes as the canvass went on, and wrote explanatory letters that showed a wavering state of mind. The effect was to turn against him an anti-slavery vote sufficient to cause his defeat. Garrison and the extreme abolitionists never voted, taking no part in political action; but other radicals in anti-slavery opinion had formed a "Liberty party," which had cast about 7000 votes in 1840 for James G. Birney, and which now named Birney for President again. The votes given to Birney, more than 60,000 in all, were fatal to Clay. They decided the election in New York, and the 36 electoral votes of that State turned the scale in favor of Polk.

Clay's mistake.

The Liberty party, 1844.

Apparently, the jury of the people had decided that Texas, with her slaves and slave laws, should be taken into the Union, and that the weak and distracted republic of Mexico should be defied. Both President and Congress took that meaning from the election, and were eager to accomplish the annexation before a new President and a new Congress could come in. They concluded that it could be done without treaty, by a joint resolution of Congress, and acted on that plan. The annexing resolution reached the President and was signed on the 1st of March, 1845 (see Map XV.). By its terms, four States, besides Texas proper, might thereafter be formed in the territory claimed by the annexed republic, and such States should be admitted to the Union with or without slavery, as they willed, if formed south of the Missouri Compromise line. What seemed to be a crowning triumph for the "slave power" had been won.

Texas annexed, 1845.

At nearly the same time, in an act passed March 3, 1845, the admission of Florida to the Union, with a constitution that excluded free negroes and forbade the legislature to legalize the emancipation of slaves, was extorted as an equivalent for the admission of Iowa into the list of free States.[1]

Florida and Iowa admitted, 1845-1846.

On the other hand, in the same session, John Quincy Adams won his long, heroic battle for the right of petition, the House rescinding its unconstitutional rule.

267. The Programme of President Polk. 1845. The cabinet of President Polk included three men of subsequent note: George Bancroft, the historian, who took the Navy Department; Robert J. Walker, in the Treasury; and James Buchanan, Secretary of State. Mr. Schouler quotes a letter to himself from Mr. Bancroft, in which it is related that the new President, soon after entering office, said to the writer: "There are four great measures which are to be the measures of my administration: one, a reduction of the tariff; another, the independent treasury; a third, the settlement of the Oregon boundary question; and, lastly, the acquisition of California."[2] That programme was exactly carried out, and the history of its execution is the history of the administration of President Polk.

Polk's cabinet.

268. Settlement of the Oregon Boundary Dispute. 1845–1846. The Oregon business was the first to be taken in hand. Calhoun, under Tyler, had opened it already, and Buchanan resumed the discussion, proposing the 49th parallel for a boundary line. This proposal was rejected, the British government regarding

[1] A boundary dispute with Missouri delayed the actual admission of Iowa until December, 1846.

[2] Schouler, *History of the United States*, iv. 498.

the Columbia River as the natural bound. The question went then to Congress, in December, 1845, with a recommendation that twelve months' notice of the abrogation of the convention for joint occupancy of Oregon be given, and with uncompromising assertions of our right to the whole region of dispute. The undefined "Oregon" of that day was the country west of the Rocky Mountains, lying between the northern boundary of Mexico (which we had settled by our treaty of 1819 with Spain as being the 42d degree of north latitude — see sect. **224**) and the southern boundary of Russian-American possessions, which both England and the United States had settled with Russia at the line of 54° 40′. We had a well-grounded claim to the whole drainage area of the Columbia River (see sect. **225**); north of that there seems to have been no reason for disputing the British claims. Nevertheless, the tone of the President's message and of the speeches that followed it in Congress revived a senseless cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight," which the supporters of Polk had started in the presidential campaign. Common sense prevailed in the end; the 49th parallel was seen to be a reasonable line, and the British government found a cogent reason for accepting it, in the fact that American settlers were filling the valley of the Columbia, and were likely, soon or late, to make the country their own.[1] On that basis

The Oregon claim.

"Fifty-four forty or fight."

[1] The story told in many histories, that the measures of government and the movement of emigration which secured Oregon to the United States were consequent on the heroic undertakings of a missionary, the Rev. Marcus Whitman, who made a perilous journey across the continent, from the Columbia, in the winter of 1843, to rouse the country on the subject, has been discredited by some recent investigations. That the journey was heroically

the Oregon boundary question was settled peacefully and honorably, in June, 1846 (see Maps X. and XV.).

269. War with Mexico.— Its Cause and Beginning. 1845–1846. To take the revolted Texans into the American Union while Mexico claimed them as the subjects of her government was a challenge of war. In the legal sense, a state of war followed at once, the Mexican minister quitting Washington, and the Mexican government refusing to receive an envoy from the United States; while American troops were despatched to Texas and a naval squadron to the Gulf. Actual hostilities did not occur immediately because the challenged nation was in a disordered state; and there would have been no actual war if the annexation of Texas had involved nothing more than the taking of the territory which the Texans occupied and from which Mexican authority had been expelled. That was the province of Texas, as organized and named under the Mexican administration; the province within which the revolt had occurred, and outside of which it had made no change. That province extended southwestward along the Gulf from the Sabine River to the Nueces, beyond which stream the annexed "Republic of Texas" had no ground, either in past history or existing fact. But it claimed to the Rio Grande, and northward to the old Spanish bounds (see Map XV.); and it had assumed in the annexation treaty to convey that claim to the

Unjust claims of United States.

undertaken and performed, and that Mr. Whitman rendered important services to a party of emigrants with whom he returned in 1843, is unquestioned; but it is shown that his visit east was for purposes connected with his mission, and had no real connection with the stir of interest on the Oregon question. See Professor E. G. Bourne on "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," in *The American Historical Review*, January, 1901.

United States. What this meant was described in plain terms by Senator Benton, of Missouri, an honest statesman, who opposed Tyler's treaty when it went to the Senate in 1844. "The treaty," he said, "in all that relates to the boundary of the Rio Grande, is an act of unparalleled outrage on Mexico. It is the seizure of 2000 miles of her territory without a word of explanation to her, and by virtue of a treaty with Texas, to which she is no party. This *slice* of the republic of Mexico, 2000 miles long and some hundred broad, — all this our President has cut off from its mother empire and presents to us, and declares it is ours till the Senate rejects it. He calls it Texas! and the cutting off he calls *re*-annexation. Humboldt calls it New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Nuevo San Tander (now Tamaulipas), and the civilized world may qualify this *re*-annexation by the application of some odious and terrible epithet."[1] The "unparalleled outrage," as proposed in 1844, was condemned and rejected by the Senate; but now, in 1845, that same "*slice* of the republic of Mexico, 2000 miles long," was again called "Texas" by President Polk, and assumed to be acquired by the joint resolution which made Texas an American State.

Benton's views.

General Zachary Taylor, commanding the forces sent to Texas, was ordered by the President at the outset to cross the Nueces and take position on its southwestern side. Mexico, torn by fresh revolutions, submitted to the invasion for six months; but when, in January, 1846, Taylor was ordered to move on to the Rio Grande, and to plant his army where it threatened Matamoras, Mexican forces came over to oppose him; an American reconnoitring party was attacked, and President Polk

[1] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, ii. 601–602.

was given the opportunity to say, in an inflammatory message to Congress: "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." Thoughtless people everywhere accepted the statement, and were fired with what passes for "patriotism" in shallow minds. War, once begun, found support in that kind of feeling, north as well as south; though the iniquity of it was felt deeply by all that was best in the land. By the congressional elections of 1846 the party responsible for the war was reduced from a majority of 60 in the House of Representatives to a minority of 8.

President Polk's inflammatory message, 1846.

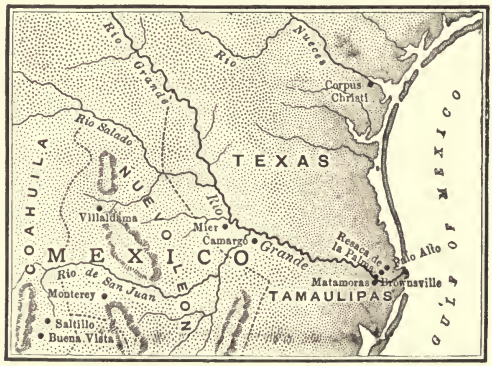
270. War with Mexico. — Campaigns and Conquests. — Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. 1846–1848. On the 8th of May, 1846, a few days after the first collision on the Rio Grande, General Taylor, at Palo Alto, repelled an attack in strong force by the Mexicans, and retaliated the next day, striking the enemy at Resaca de la Palma and driving them back to the southern side of the river. The following week he crossed with his own army, took Matamoras, and waited to be reinforced. There was a pause then for some months, in this quarter, while volunteers were being raised and other military preparations made.

Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, May, 1846.

In the interval, General Kearney was ordered to move from Fort Leavenworth into New Mexico, and thence to California, while Commodore Sloat, commanding our squadron in the Pacific, was to seize desirable points on the California coast. At the same time orders went to Colonel John C. Frémont, who had been exploring the Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast regions for some years, directing him to assist in securing that northern California country which Polk

Seizure of California, 1846.

had marked for acquisition two years before. **Frémont**, Sloat, and Commodore Stockton, Sloat's successor, together with a few hundred American settlers, practically took possession of the country before Kearney arrived.



FIELD OF GENERAL TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGN.

The latter, meeting with no serious resistance, had occupied New Mexico, had established an American governor at Santa Fé, and had declared the province annexed to the United States. From Santa Fé General Kearney had sent part of his command, under Colonel Doniphan, southward, through Chihuahua, to a junction with General Taylor, who advanced in September from Matamoras to Monterey, capturing that fortified city after obstinate fighting for four days (September 21–24).

Monterey, September 1846.

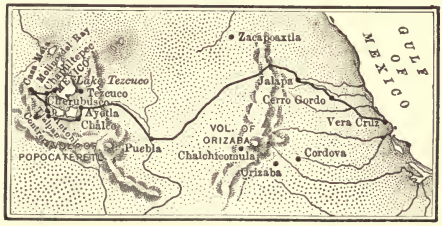
A new plan of campaign was now adopted, with General Winfield Scott in chief command, and part of Taylor's army was called to assist Scott's movement on the city of Mexico from Vera Cruz. At this juncture Santa Anna, who had regained power in Mexico, took advantage of the weakening of Taylor and attempted to

overwhelm his small force of 5200 men by an attack with 15,000. His attack (February 23, 1847), made at Buena Vista, not far to the southwest from Monterey, failed disastrously, costing him a loss of 2000 men. With this victory at Buena Vista the operations of General Taylor were closed.

Buena Vista, February 23, 1847.

On the 7th of March, 1847, Scott's army of about 12,000 reached Vera Cruz; on the 27th the city was surrendered to it; a fortnight later its march to the Mexican capital, 200 miles distant, was begun. The mountain pass of Cerro Gordo was forced on the 18th of April, and there was no more serious fighting till the capital was nearly reached. At Puebla the invading army rested during June and July, while unavailing peace negotiations were carried on. Early in August the march was resumed, and the defences of the city, held by about 30,000 men, were reached on the 18th. On the 19th the assault began, and three battles, Contreras, San Antonio, and Cherubusco, were fought that day and the next. Then another fruitless parley suspended the war for a few days. It was resumed on the 8th of September, in successful assaults on Mexican positions at Casa Mata and Molino del Rey. On the 13th the strong fortress of Chapultepec was stormed, its defenders were driven into the city, and the city

Vera Cruz, March 27; Cerro Gordo, April 18, 1847.



SCOTT'S ROUTE FROM VERA CRUZ TO MEXICO.

Contreras, San Antonio, Cherubusco, August 19-20, 1847.

Casa Mata, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, Mexico, September 8-16, 1847.

itself was then taken after three days of desperate fighting in the streets. The Mexicans had made an heroic defence; they were vanquished by qualities in the smaller American army which we can justly be proud of, even though we cannot feel satisfied with the occasion that called such qualities forth.

Notwithstanding the loss of their capital city, the Mexicans were not submissive until January, 1848, when they opened negotiations with Mr. Trist, a commissioner from President Polk who had power to treat for peace.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848.

On the 2d of February a treaty was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which Mexico relinquished all claim to Texas, established the Rio Grande as the southwestern boundary of that State, and ceded to the United States the great territory then called New Mexico and California, which included Nevada and Utah, parts of Colorado, Wyoming, and Arizona, as well as the California and New Mexico that are so named at the present time (see Map XV.). For this cession the sum of $15,000,000 was paid to Mexico, and claims of Americans against that republic to the amount of $3,250,000 were assumed, making the transaction a compulsory sale. Five years later, by what is known as the Gadsden Purchase, the remainder of Arizona, south of the Gila River, was bought for $10,000,000 (see Map XV.).

271. Mormon Migration to Utah. — Gold Discovery in California. — Rising tide of Foreign Immigration. 1846–1849. Before the treaty with Mexico was signed, and, therefore, before either Utah or California had become part of the United States, events had prepared for the speedy settlement of both. The religious community calling itself the "Church of the Latter Day Saints," but known commonly as that of the Mormons,

first formed by Joseph Smith at Palmyra, New York, in 1830, but removed to successive settlements, in Ohio (1831), in Missouri (1838), and in Illinois (1840), was driven by mob violence from its town of Nauvoo, Illinois, in the spring of 1846. It migrated westward, across the desert plains and beyond the mountains, to the number of 17,000 souls. Smith, the apostle of these people, had been killed by the Illinois mob, and the new head of their church was Brigham Young. Young led them to the Utah valley of the Great Salt Lake, which was reached by the vanguard of their movement in the summer of 1847. They prospered in their distant settlement, and large bodies of converts were drawn into union with them there.

Early settlements of Mormons.

At Great Salt Lake, 1847.

The event that drew a still larger population and with more rapidity into northern California was the discovery of gold, which occurred, near the site of the present city of Sacramento, in the winter of 1848. The discovery was followed by a prodigious rush of gold-seekers from every part of the world.

Discovery of gold, 1848.

These special movements of population were coincident, too, with the beginning of an enormous increase of general immigration from Europe to the United States, caused, first, by a failure of the potato crop and a consequent fearful famine in Ireland, during the years 1845–46–47, and afterward by political disturbances in Germany and elsewhere, in 1848. That movement of immigration did not end with the ending of its immediate causes, but has continued ever since, transferring somewhat more, on an average, than a quarter of a million of people yearly from other countries to ours.

Increased immigration, 1845-1848.

272. Independent Treasury restored. — The Walker Tariff. 1846. Of the four measures planned by President Polk when he entered office we have traced the success of two: the settlement of the Oregon boundary and the acquisition of California. The remaining two were accomplished in 1846, when Van Buren's independent treasury was reëstablished, and a new tariff law, described in purpose as being "a tariff for revenue with incidental protection," and known as "the Walker Tariff," was passed.

273. The Question of Slavery in the Territories. — Intensified Feeling. — The Wilmot Proviso. 1846–1848. The vast addition now made to the national domain, by the Oregon treaty and by the results of the Mexican War, raised the question concerning slavery in the Territories to an importance so momentous — so manifestly vital — that it went to depths of feeling in the country which nothing had touched before. Churches were divided upon it, sectionally, and the old political parties were breaking up. Great numbers of northern people, who had acted more or less in alliance with the slaveholding interest hitherto, went into the anti-slavery ranks.

Increased anti-slavery feeling in the north.

In August, 1846, the question arose in Congress on two measures, almost simultaneously, and was raised in each instance by Democratic representatives from the north. In the first instance, on a bill to organize the Territory of Oregon, Mr. Thompson, of Pennsylvania, moved an amendment excluding slavery, and the amendment was adopted by a large majority of the House; but the Senate stifled the bill. In the second instance, on a bill to appropriate money for the negotiations with Mexico, then in progress, Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, moved and carried a similar proviso, that slavery should

exist in no territory acquired by treaty from Mexico; and that, too, caused the bill to fail in the Senate, after it had passed the House. At the next session of Congress, the "Wilmot Proviso" was again attached by the House to a bill relating to the conquests from Mexico, and again rejected by the Senate; and again the latter body refused a territorial organization to Oregon if slavery was to be shut out. In 1848, however, after weeks of raging debate, the demand for a civil government in Oregon became so urgent that the Senate gave way, and passed a bill that contained the excluding clause (see Map XIV.). But nothing could be done to protect the great region called New Mexico and California from invasion by the slaveholder with his slaves.

The "Wilmot Proviso," 1846-1847.

274. The New Theory of Slaveholding Rights in the Territories. 1847. The "slave power" and its partisans had advanced now to a new constitutional theory on the subject, contending that the general government had no power to exclude from the Territories anything that was recognized as "property" by the laws of any State. Hence, they claimed, the owners of slaves, which were "property" under the laws of half the States, could not be barred from taking them into any part of that domain which belongs in common to all the States. When the settlers of a Territory acquired the "sovereignty" of a state organization, then they might exclude slavery by their laws, if they willed; but no legislative body had power to do so in advance of that time. This theory, put forward in 1847 by Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, in the House, and by Calhoun and Jefferson Davis in the Senate, was entirely new. The right of Congress to deal with slavery in the Territories had been established in practice for half a century, — particularly

established by the Missouri Compromise, as well as by the confirmation of the Ordinance of 1787 (see sects. **151** and **227**). To annul that long admitted right, and to open every Territory to slavery, now grew to be a fixed determination in the south, while the opposing determination grew as steadily at the north.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

262. Death of President Harrison. — Vice-President Tyler as President. — His Rupture with the Whigs.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Mr. Tyler's false position when made President. 2. Whig measures that he approved. 3. Default and repudiation in certain States. 4. The President's bank-bill vetoes. 5. Whig hostility. — Resignation of the cabinet, except Webster. Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 198–219; Schouler, iv. 367–396; Wilson, *Division*, 133–139; Holst, *United States*, ii. 412–450; Clay, vi. 274–296; Benton, ii. ch. xliii.–xliv., lxi., lxiii.–lxv., lxviii., lxxix.–lxxxv.; Sargent, ii. 122–136.

263. "Dorr Rebellion" in Rhode Island. — Anti-Rent Disturbances in New York.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Cause and result of the "Dorr Rebellion." G. W. Greene, *Rhode Island*, ch. xxxi.

2. Origin of the anti-rent disturbances in New York. Schuyler, i. 243–285.

264. The Ashburton Treaty.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The treaty (text in MacDonald, ii. 335–343). — Its main subject. 2. Other matters included in it. Lodge, *Webster*, 252–260; Schouler, iv. 396–404; Webster, vi. 270–390; Benton, ii. ch. ci.–cvi.

RESEARCH. — The map questions connected with the treaty. Webster, ii. 143–153.

265. Texas Annexation Treaty rejected by the Senate.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Action of President Tyler in securing the treaty. 2. Grounds of objection to it. 3. Objects of the annexation, in the interest of slavery. Holst, *Calhoun*, 222–245 ; Holst, *United States*, ii. 602–657, 673–677 ; Schouler, iv. 440–451, 457–459, 470 ; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 302–308 ; Wilson, *Division*, 144–145 ; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 235–241 ; Benton, ii. ch. cxxxv., cxxxviii.–cxlii.

266. The Texas Question and the Presidential Election. — Annexation accomplished.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Clay nominated in opposition to the annexation, against Polk, its advocate. 2. Oregon claims coupled with the Texas question. — The false coloring of both. Wilson, *Division*, 145–146 ; Schouler, iv. 460–461, 465–469, 471–474 ; Holst, *United States*, ii. 657–673 ; Shepard, 344–354 ; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 145–146 ; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 649–652.

3. First practical use at this time of the electric telegraph. Sargent, ii. 231–232 ; Benton, ii. ch. cxxxiii.; Schouler, iv. 469.

4. Why and how Clay lost the election. — The Liberty party. Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 241–265; Schouler, iv. 474–480 ; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 646–649 ; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 146–147.

5. Hurried action of President and Congress to accomplish the annexation (text in MacDonald, ii. 343–346). Holst, *United States*, ii. 677–712 ; Holst, *Calhoun*, 251–256 ; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 308–310, 318–323 ; Schouler, iv. 482–488 ; Benton, ii. ch. cxlvii.–cxlviii.

6. Admission of Florida and Iowa. Schouler, iv. 488–489.

7. The triumph of John Quincy Adams. Sargent, ii. 254–257 ; Holst, *United States*, ii. 541–543 ; Schouler, iv. 480–481.

RESEARCH. — The grief of the Whigs over the defeat of Henry Clay. Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 265–267 ; Sargent, ii. 232–254.

267. The Programme of President Polk.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The cabinet of President Polk. 2. The four measures planned by President Polk. Schouler, iv. 495–500.

268. Settlement of the Oregon Boundary Dispute.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The undefined region of the dispute. 2. Senselessness of the cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight." 3. The reasonable settlement made (text in McDonald, ii. 355–358). Burgess, *Middle Period*, 311–317, 324–326; Holst, *Calhoun*, 261–272; Schouler, iv. 504–514; Wilson, *Division*, 147–148; Benton, ii. ch. clvi.–clix.

269. War with Mexico. — Its Cause and Beginning.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Annexation of Texas proper would not have caused war. 2. War the consequence of our claiming what had never belonged to Texas. 3. Senator Benton's characterization of the transaction. Benton, ii. ch. cxlix.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iii. 652–655; Schouler, iv. 518–525; Holst, *United States*, iii. ch. iv., vii.; Holst, *Calhoun*, 274–279; Grant, i. 33–34; Webster, v. 253–261, 271–301; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 327–331.

4. Collision provoked on the Rio Grande. — Inflammatory message of President Polk (text in MacDonald, ii. 346–353; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 20–23). Schouler, iv. 525–528; Nicolay and Hay, i. 270–273; Lincoln, i. 100–107.

RESEARCH. — 1. The character of Thomas H. Benton. Roosevelt, *Benton*. 2. Lowell on the Mexican War, in the "Biglow Papers."

270. War with Mexico. — Campaigns and Conquests. — Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Opening of General Taylor's campaign. 2. General Kearney's easy conquest of New Mexico. — Seizure of California. 3. Taylor at Monterey. Grant, i. ch. vii.–viii.; Schouler, iv. 528–535; Holst, *United States*, iii. 258–268; Benton, ii. ch. clxii.–clxiv.; H. H. Bancroft, xvii. ch. i.–xvi.

4. Taylor's victory at Buena Vista. 5. General Scott's campaign. — Capture of the city of Mexico. Paris, i. ch. iv.; Grant, i. ch. ix.–xii.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 28–31; Holst, *United States*, iii. 331–335; Wilson, *Division*, 151–152; H. H. Bancroft, xvii. ch. xiii.

6. Cessions to the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe

Hidalgo (text in MacDonald, ii. 365–372). Holst, *United States*, iii. 344–347; Wilson, *Division*, 152–153.

7. The "Gadsden Purchase" (text in MacDonald, ii. 390–395).

271. Mormon Migration to Utah. — Gold Discovery in California. — Rising Tide of Foreign Immigration.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Origin of the Mormon Church. — Its successive migrations, and settlement in Utah. Schouler, iv. 546–549.

2. Gold discovery in California. Sherman, i. 68–82; H. H. Bancroft, xviii. ch. ii.–iv.

3. Causes of increased immigration from Europe. Wilson, *Division*, 162–164.

272. The Independent Treasury restored. — The Walker Tariff.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The four measures of President Polk accomplished (text of treasury act in MacDonald, ii. 358–365). Schouler, iv. 514–518; Wilson, *Division*, 154–155.

273. The Question of Slavery in the Territories. — The "Wilmot Proviso."

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Shall the new domain be for slave labor or free labor? — Intensified feeling in the country. 2. The question in Congress concerning Oregon. 3. The question concerning New Mexico and California. — The "Wilmot Proviso." Shepard, 354–357; Holst, *United States*, iii. 284–308, 322–327, 348–358, 385–397, 400–401; Holst, *Calhoun*, 279–285; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 334–337, 340–344; Wilson, *Division*, 153–157; Schouler, iv. 543–546; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 35–40.

274. New Theory of Slaveholding Rights in the Territories.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The new constitutional theory of the "slave power." 2. The ground of conflict changed. Holst, *United States*, iii. 308–320; Holst, *Calhoun*, 292–307, 310–313; Burgess, *Middle Period*, 342–344; Benton, ii. ch. clxvii.–clxviii., clxxiv.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MADDENING SLAVERY QUESTION. 1848–1860.

275. Presidential Canvass of 1848. — Election of Taylor and Fillmore. The question between the "Wilmot Proviso" and the new claim of slaveholding rights in the Territories — the question, that is, between limiting and spreading slavery — was the one subject of absorbing interest in the country when the presidential election of 1848 approached; yet the politicians of the old parties made blind attempts to keep it out of the canvass, by taking no ground on either side. Large numbers, in consequence, broke away from them in the north, and combined, Whigs and Democrats, under the name of "Free Soilers," in a new anti-slavery movement, led by friends and followers of Van Buren, in New York. The New York Democrats in this movement had undertaken to array their own party against further extensions of slavery, and had failed. Among their leaders were such men as Silas Wright, Samuel J. Tilden, Dean Richmond, William Cullen Bryant, and John A. Dix. They accepted the queer name of "Barnburners," because their opponents (whom they styled "Hunkers," or "old fogies") accused them of acting like a farmer who burned his barn to rid it of rats.

"Free Soilers," 1848.

"Barnburners" and "Hunkers."

The Democratic national convention nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President; the Whig convention named General Zachary Taylor, one of the heroes of

the Mexican War. The former convention issued some meaningless phrases on political questions, while the latter said nothing at all. The Barnburner Democrats, refusing to support Cass, put Van Buren in nomination, and their action was endorsed by a great convention at Buffalo, where Whigs, Democrats, and Abolitionists united in declaring for "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men."

The nomination of Van Buren was not satisfactory to the general body of anti-slavery Whigs in New York, and most of them were persuaded to vote for General Taylor, the Whig nominee. Van Buren, in consequence, by drawing heavily from the Democratic vote in New York and little from the Whig vote, turned the election in Taylor's favor. The Vice-President elected was Millard Fillmore, of New York.

276. Pro-slavery and Anti-slavery Demands. 1849. When President Taylor entered office, in the spring of 1849, the rush of gold-seekers to California was deciding the slavery question there, by filling the country with a population that had no use or desire for slaves. Prompted by the President, who had no sectional views on the subject of slavery, though a slaveholder himself, the Californians framed and adopted a free-state constitution, established a government, and applied for admission to the Union. The Mormons of Utah were organized politically already, in what they named the "State of Deseret," and the few inhabitants of New Mexico were taking steps to the same end. In the President's view the whole problem would solve itself, if Congress would let events take their natural course; but his proceedings and proposals in the matter were resented by the extremists of the south, whose prominent leaders were Jefferson Davis and Robert Barnwall Rhett.

California gold-hunters reject slavery, 1849.

Nobody could think it possible to force slavery on the people who were gathering in California, nor to keep the increasing thousands of those people with no organized government for an indefinite period of time; but the California question furnished an opportunity for pressing other pro-slavery demands, and to press them in a threatening way. There were (1) the demand for opening the whole remainder of the territory lately Mexican to slavery; (2) for the surrender of a large part of New Mexico to Texas, on her boundary claims; (3) for fresh legislation to carry out that provision of the Constitution which declares that persons "held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, . . . shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."[1] For the execution of this mandate of the Constitution a "fugitive slave law" had been among the Federal statutes since 1793; but that law entrusted the execution to state officials, who might be (according to a decision of the Supreme Court), and who were, forbidden by the laws of some States to perform the duties required. Therefore it was demanded, on indisputable grounds of constitutional obligation, that Congress should enact a more effective law, appointing Federal officials to carry it out.

Pro-slavery demands.

Fugitive slave law of 1793.

Against these radical pro-slavery demands from one section came the radical anti-slavery demands from the other, (1) for the Wilmot Proviso, applied to all present and future Territories; (2) for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; (3) for the prohibition of all slave trade between the States. The feeling on each side took heat from the other, and conditions were well prepared for an outburst of flame.

Anti-slavery demands.

[1] Art. IV. sect. ii. clause 3.

277. Compromise of 1850. — Death of President Taylor. — Accession of President Fillmore. President Taylor, stout-hearted old soldier and patriot, regarded the threatening situation without dismay. Like Jackson, his feelings were wholly national; he scorned the sectional spirit, and was sternly unwilling to give way to it in the least. If he had had his way, the crisis reached a dozen years later might have come upon the country in 1850 or 1851, and possibly with a different result. But the temper of Congress was not so inflexible. Clay, "the great compromiser," brought his peculiar influence to bear on the strained feeling of the time, and postponed the inevitable rupture by a last transient truce. Under his lead a conservative majority from both parties in Congress enacted a series of measures which were judged to be an acceptable "compromise" between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery demands. Webster, Cass, and Stephen A. Douglas were the prominent northern supporters of Clay in his undertaking; his scheme as a whole was opposed on one side by Jefferson Davis, and on the other side by Seward and most of the anti-slavery Whigs. The influence of the administration was against it until President Taylor's death, which occurred, after a brief illness, on the 9th of July, 1850. Mr. Fillmore, who became President then, approved all the pending compromise bills, and signed them when they passed.

"The great compromiser."

Death of President Taylor, July 9, 1850.

Nothing else in the compromise proceeding gave rise to so much feeling as Webster's participation in it. His speech in the Senate debate, which brought the weightiest argument and the most powerful influence to Clay's support, grieved and angered a vast number of his old admirers in the north. It was looked upon, most unreasonably, as a bid for the presi-

Webster's "Seventh of March speech."

dency; as though the south could make him President without the good-will that he alienated in the north. Opinion at the present day does more justice to Webster's sincerity, whatever may be its judgment on the wisdom of his course. He feared for the Union, and he convinced himself that nature had forbidden slavery in New Mexico and Utah, which time proved to be the fact. In his grand way he said: "I would not take pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature, nor to reënact the will of God." As for the Fugitive Slave Law, he advocated jury trial for the fugitive, but he did not insist upon it, and he left the Senate, to become Secretary of State in Fillmore's cabinet, before the bill came to a vote.

The five measures of the "Compromise of 1850" (1) established territorial governments in Utah and New Mexico, with no reference to slavery; (2) admitted California as a free State; (3) gave $10,000,000 to Texas for her New Mexico claim; (4) substituted a new Fugitive Slave Law for that of 1793; and (5) abolished the slave trade, but not slavery, in the District of Columbia. The several acts were passed by differing votes, the radicals on the two sides voting together against the Texas proposition, and opposedly on everything else. In reality, the so-called "compromise" satisfied only a middle feeling of cool conservatism in the country, that was peaceable enough without it; while the dangerous antagonisms were not pacified at all.

The five measures.

278. The Fugitive Slave Law. 1850. The antagonisms were not only not pacified, but they were intensified by one of the measures of the "compromise" — the Fugitive Slave Law. Had that law done no more than fulfil in a strict way the hard requirement of the Constitution, nobody who upholds the Constitution could deny

that it was a rightful act. But it destroyed all the safeguards of freedom for every black man in every State. If a white man claimed him as a slave, it was not the white man who must prove his claim by more than a bare affidavit, but the negro who must prove his right to be free. He was denied even the safeguards of a thief, whom the law assumes to be innocent till his guilt is proved. He could not testify in his own behalf. He was denied trial by jury. He was denied a judge of the bench; for the claim against his liberty was to be heard and determined, "in a summary manner," by a fee-paid commissioner, whom the law bribed against him, by making the official fee ten dollars if the black man was sent to slavery and five dollars if he was set free.

Safeguards of freedom destroyed.

Such a law could not be enforced in northern communities without excitements of passionate feeling. Every case that occurred under it — every surrender of a claimed fugitive — did more than the abolitionists had ever done to convert northern people to some part, at least, of abolitionist beliefs. Senator Seward, in a Senate debate on the compromise measures, had made casual allusion to "a higher law than the Constitution," and the phrase was caught up. To obstruct, resist, frustrate, the execution of the statute came to be looked upon by many people as a duty dictated by the "higher law" of moral right. Legislatures were moved to enact obstructive "personal liberty laws;" and quiet citizens were moved to riotous acts. Active undertakings to encourage and assist the escape of slaves from southern States were set on foot, and a remarkable organization of helping hands was formed, in what took the name of the "Underground Railway," to secrete them and pass them

The appeal to "a higher law."

The "Underground Railway."

on to the safe shelter of Canadian law. The slaveholders lost thousands of their servants for every one that the law restored to their hands.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin."

The story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, may fairly be counted among the products of the Fugitive Slave Law, and no other book ever produced an extraordinary effect so quickly on the public mind. In book form it was published in March, 1852, and it was read everywhere in civilized countries within the next two or three years. Its picture of slavery was stamped ineffaceably on the thought of the whole world, and the institution was arraigned upon it, for a more impressive judgment than Christendom had ever pronounced before. That the picture was not a true one of the general and common circumstances of southern slavery, but that the incidents put together in the story were all possible, has been proved beyond doubt.

279. Incidents of the Period. 1849–1852. In political affairs the domestic history of the United States, during the four years of Taylor and Fillmore, was filled almost entirely with the agitations to which slavery gave rise. It was a time of great material prosperity and advance. Railroad and telegraph building went on with rapidity; movements of travel and trade were enormously increased; steamers were supplanting sailing vessels on the ocean, as well as on rivers and lakes; large organizations of every kind of undertaking, in reform work, lecture-touring, news-collecting, and the like, were becoming practicable; life on all sides was broadened and quickened, and the nation was acquiring a new knowledge of itself.

Material prosperity.

Several occurrences of interest or excitement had their origin in foreign affairs. In 1850 Mr. Clayton, then

Secretary of State, negotiated what seemed to be a treaty of importance with the British minister, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, to guarantee the neutrality of any ship canal that might be cut through the Isthmus of Panama, or through Central America at any other point. But many years were to pass, and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was to give way to another, before the long-projected inter-oceanic canal could be built.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1850.

Results of more importance came from a naval expedition sent to Japan in 1852, under Commodore Perry, who succeeded in negotiating the first treaty by which the Japanese government conceded rights and privileges of intercourse and commerce with any foreign people.

Expedition to Japan, 1852.

The rising of 1848–49 in Hungary, against Austrian misrule, gave rise to two incidents of note. The first was a spirited correspondence between Chevalier Hulsemann, the Austrian representative at Washington, and Mr. Webster, after the latter became Secretary of State. Austria was offended by action taken in sending an agent to Hungary to watch the course of events, and Webster delighted his countrymen by the vigor of his reply to her complaints. The second incident was a visit to America, in 1851, by Kossuth, the wonderfully eloquent Hungarian leader, who hoped to renew the struggle of his country with American help. He excited an enthusiasm which might have swept the United States into reckless meddling with European affairs, if those who were responsible for the government had allowed themselves to be moved by the momentary feeling of the people.

The Hulsemann letter, 1850.

Visit of Kossuth, 1851.

Since the annexation of Texas and the conquests from

Mexico, a restless craving for more territorial expansion had been showing itself in parts of the south. Cuba was a special object of desire. President Polk had tried without success to buy the island from Spain, and less scrupulous undertakings were then set on foot. President Taylor suppressed one filibustering scheme in 1849. Another, concocted in 1851 by a Cuban named Lopez, launched an expedition of about 500 men from New Orleans and landed it in Cuba, where it suffered quick defeat. The leader and some others were executed, and a large part of the force perished in fight or from disease.

Lopez Expedition, 1851.

280. Presidential Canvass of 1852. Election of Franklin Pierce. If the Compromise of 1850 gave satisfaction, as was said above, to nothing but a middle feeling of cool conservatism in the country, that feeling must have been predominant, even after two years of a vigorous enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law; for the anti-slavery sentiment of the north showed less vigor in the presidential election of 1852 than four years before. The attempt in 1848 to unite anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats in a common defence of "free soil" had had a discouraging result. Most of the Whigs had drawn away from it at the beginning, and now Van Buren and the majority of his followers were back within their old party lines.

Apathy of anti-slavery forces.

Both parties, in the national conventions of 1852, pledged themselves to maintain the compromise measures and to resist agitations on the subject of slavery; but the Democratic party gave evidence of more heartiness in the pledge than the Whigs could show. Anti-slavery influences in the latter were strong enough to defeat Fillmore, the candidate of the southern Whigs, as well as Webster, who had a faithful following, and to make

another military nomination, in the person of General Scott. For the Democratic nomination, Cass, Buchanan, and Douglas were rivals who defeated one another, and the prize went to Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, a pleasing gentleman, much liked by those who knew him, and one whose political views were highly satisfactory to the south. That was his strength, and the strength of his party. The time had come in American politics when the fighting for or against slavery was the only hearty fighting that could be done. The Democratic party gained strength from the firmness of its footing on the southern side ; while the Whig party, going positively to neither side, was weakened on both, and came to the end of its career. A surviving remnant of the Free Soil party nominated John P. Hale. Pierce was elected by an overwhelming majority of votes.

Scott against Pierce, 1852.

Both Webster and Clay died while the strife for the presidency went on, the former in October, the latter in June.

281. Minor Incidents of the Administration of President Pierce. 1853–1854. One event of the period of President Pierce looms so large that all others seem insignificant; but some incidents of importance occurred, which may be mentioned first. Once more Austria raised a question with the American government, by attempting, in Turkey, to lay hands on a Hungarian refugee, Martin Koszta, who had resided in America since his escape from Hungary, and had declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States. Captain Ingraham, of the United States sloop-of-war St. Louis, forced an Austrian brig-of-war to give him up, and the captain's action was upheld. Mr. Marcy, Pierce's Secretary of State, justified the proceeding on principles from which this country is not likely to recede.

The Koszta affair, 1853.

Another important performance in the State Department was the negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity with Canada, opening the markets of each country to most of the natural products of the other, free of duty, and increasing the privileges of American fishermen on the British-American coast. The treaty was ratified in 1854, and was in force until 1866, when it was abrogated by action of the United States.

Canadian reciprocity treaty, 1854.

With less credit to itself, the administration of President Pierce was tolerant, at least, of unscrupulous designs upon Cuba, and winked at the doings of one Walker, who harassed Nicaragua with filibustering undertakings for a number of years. It prompted also a strange proceeding on the part of three American plenipotentiaries in Europe, Mr. Soulé, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. Mason, who met at Ostend, in October, 1854, and joined in preparing an extraordinary document, known as "the Ostend Manifesto." In substance this advised the immediate acquisition of Cuba, by purchase if possible, by force if needful, on the ground that the peace and safety of the United States required the island to be ours. If, as people believed at the time, the government was making ready to act on such advice, its plans were interfered with by another measure, which raised so much excitement in the country that nothing else could be taken in hand.

Walker in Nicaragua. 1855, 1860.

The Ostend Manifesto, 1854.

282. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. 1854.[1] That measure was one repealing the Missouri Compromise, thereby admitting slavery to the whole domain from which the compact of 1820 (see sect. **227**) had shut it out. In January, 1854, its author, Senator Douglas, of Illinois, reported from

[1] See Map XIV.

the Senate Committee on Territories a bill to organize what was then called the Territory of Nebraska, embracing what is now comprised in the States of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and so much of Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado as lies on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains (see Map XI.). The report assumed, what seems to have entered no mind before, that the effect of the Compromise of 1850, in its provision relating to New Mexico and Utah, was to establish the principle of "popular sovereignty," or "squatter sovereignty," as Calhoun had styled it, with contempt; the principle, that is, "that all questions pertaining to slavery in the Territories, and the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein." Pursuant to this discovery, the Nebraska Bill reported by Senator Douglas provided that States organized in the Territory should be "received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe." Subsequently a clause was added that repealed the enactment of 1820 in positive terms, and two Territories, named Kansas and Nebraska, were created in the region, instead of one.

Doctrine of "squatter sovereignty."

After three months of an excitement which exceeded all previous agitations, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became law. It was opposed by every northern Whig in both branches of Congress, and by nearly half the northern Democrats in the lower House. In the Senate, Douglas carried with him all but four of his Democratic colleagues from the north. The political effect of the bill was to drive great numbers from the Democratic party in the northern States, who did not return to it, as in 1848; but a strong wing of that party still held the pro-slavery ground in nearly every free State. On the other hand, northern and southern Whigs

Split among northern Democrats.

parted company on the new slavery question so completely that their national organization came to an end.

283. Rise of the Republican Party. 1854–1855. The northern Whig leaders now hoped and strove to reconstruct their party on anti-slavery grounds, and to gather all the forces of opposition into its ranks; but that could not be done. To bring anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats into harmonious union an entirely new organization was required, and such organizations never rise at command; they are always a growth. In this case the growth was begun by a popular movement in several States, mostly western, during the summer of 1854. In Michigan, Wisconsin, and Vermont the people going into the new movement took the name of "Republicans," and that name was accepted as the movement spread. It advanced somewhat slowly in the east, not only because the old Whig organization gave way to it less readily there, but also because of hindrance from another political movement which was running at this time a short-lived career.

Union of anti-slavery elements in the north.

284. The "Know Nothing," or American, Party. 1852–1855. The movement in question had been started, about 1852, in some eastern cities, by native Americans, who objected to the speedy way in which foreign immigrants were made citizens and endowed with political rights. At first it took the form of a secret society, whose members were bound by oath to divulge nothing of its plans. In jeering allusion to the ignorance they professed when questioned, they were called "Know Nothings," and accepted the name. As one consequence of the Kansas-Nebraska legislation, breaking former party ties, many voters went into the Know Nothing order, in 1854 and 1855. Many state elections were controlled by them, and a strong representation in Congress was

secured. The secret methods of the order were then mostly abandoned, and assuming the name of the American Party, it entered the political field in an open way, absorbing the more conservative among the Whigs of the north, and the whole of the Whig party in the south.

285. The Strife for Kansas. 1855–1856. In 1855 the anti-slavery Whigs gave up the attempt to maintain their own party organization, and, with Senator Seward of New York as their acknowledged chief, went into the "Republican" movement, which then took form in every northern State. Events in Kansas were stimulating its growth.

When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became law, Senator Sumner said: "It annuls all past compromises with slavery, and makes all future compromises impossible. Thus it puts freedom and slavery face to face and bids them grapple."[1] No description of the consequences of the bill could be more exact. The "grapple" came instantly in Kansas, where the first decision, for or against slavery, by choice of the settlers in the Territory, would have to be made. Which interest would bestir itself most effectually to populate that ground of strife became the grand question of the day. Bordered as Kansas was by the slaveholding State of Missouri, the advantages of position were on the slaveholding side; but the advantages of resource and spirit were on the other. Stimulated and assisted in all possible ways, a stream of emigration to Kansas was soon in motion from the free States. Strenuous efforts to move a counter-stream from the slave States were made, with less success; but in substitution for actual settlers, armed bodies of Missourians (styled "border ruffians" in the contro-

The "grapple" in Kansas.

Emigration to Kansas.

Invasions from Missouri.

[1] Rhodes, i. 490.

versies of the time) were marched in, to hold elections and overpower the actual occupants of the land. For nearly two years, from the spring of 1855, Kansas was the scene of a desperate struggle between its real inhabitants and those invaders from the neighboring State. In that period three appointed governors of the Territory (Reeder, Geary, and Walker), who went out to it with pro-slavery sympathies, changed their views when the facts of the situation became known to them, and each, in turn, was driven to resign because he would not be a party to the flagrant wrong. In the warfare of the fierce struggle there were lawless violence and barbarity on both sides. Lawrence, the principal Kansas town, was half destroyed in 1856 by a mob, collected and acting as the posse of a marshal of the United States. In retaliation, "old John Brown of Ossawotomie" (of whom more will soon be told), leading a little band of his own sons and others, slew five pro-slavery settlers on Pottawotomie Creek in cold blood. Nothing else in the life or death or character of that fierce hater of slavery can cleanse him of the foulness of this murderous deed.

Old John Brown.

286. Election of Speaker Banks. — Assault on Senator Sumner. How rapidly the new Republican party was consolidating the anti-slavery sentiment of the north became apparent when the Thirty-fourth Congress assembled in December, 1855, and the House of Representatives attempted to elect a Speaker. At the end of a struggle which lasted two months, Nathaniel P. Banks, a Massachusetts Republican, was raised to the chair by the votes of representatives most of whom had been chosen to Congress in 1854 as "Americans" or as Whigs. The Republican party was now so broadly organized that it could enter the presidential contest of 1856 with good hopes of success.

Before that contest opened, the passionate feelings that went into it were heated yet more by a violent speech from Senator Sumner, on "The crime against Kansas," followed by a cowardly assault on the Senator, made by one of the Congressmen from South Carolina, Preston Brooks. The senator was struck repeated blows upon the head with a heavy cane, as he sat writing at his desk in the Senate Chamber, unable to rise until he had wrenched the desk from its fastenings, and then only to fall unconscious on the floor. For three years he was disabled by spinal injuries, and he never recovered full health. Brooks, applauded in his own State and other parts of the south, was not expelled from Congress, but resigned, and his district reëlected him, with only six opposing votes.

Sumner's speech and Brooks's retaliation, May 22, 1856.

287. Presidential Canvass of 1856. — Election of President Buchanan. In June, 1856, the presidential canvass was opened fully, by the Democratic nomination of James Buchanan and the Republican nomination of John C. Frémont. Previously, in February, the American party had named Millard Fillmore as its candidate, and the nomination was endorsed afterward by a remnant of the Whigs. The Democratic convention pledged adherence to the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act; the Republicans declared it to be "the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery;" the American party avoided the question. The latter figured little in the northern canvass, but importantly in the south, where the contest was entirely between Buchanan and Fillmore. The free-state vote for Frémont was heavier than Buchanan's by more than a hundred thousand; but votes were cast for the former in only four slave States, and there were only a few more than

Buchanan, Fillmore, Frémont.

one thousand Republican votes in those four. He was truly a sectional candidate, and that weighty argument against him was pressed vehemently, backed by continual declarations from southern newspapers and public men that the slave States would not submit to his election by a sectional vote. The argument and the menace had more influence in 1856 than four years later, and no doubt it is fortunate they did.

Buchanan was elected, but not by a majority of the popular vote. He carried five northern States, and all of the south save Maryland, which gave Fillmore his only electoral votes. It could hardly be said that the country, by Buchanan's election, had accepted the Calhoun doctrine, that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from any Territory; but the vote appeared to go close to that meaning; especially when coupled with the fact that the same election gave Buchanan a majority in Congress to support his administration.

288. The Dred Scott Decision. 1857.[1] The "slave power" was triumphant; but a greater triumph was to come. Two days after Buchanan's inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States made public its decision of a case in which it found opportunity to affirm the doctrine of Calhoun. The case was of a slave named Dred Scott, who sued for the freedom of himself and his family, and two questions were involved: (1) Could Dred Scott be recognized as a "citizen," with a right as such to sue in a United States court? The court decided that no slave or descendant of a slave could be a citizen of the United States. That sufficed to end the case, by putting Dred Scott out of court, and the justices were agreed at first that they should go no further; but pressure is said to have been put upon them

Dred Scott's citizenship.

[1] See Map XIV.

to declare themselves, for political effect, on the second question brought into the argument of the case, namely: (2) Was Dred Scott made free by the act of his master, who took him for two years into the northern part of the Louisiana Territory, where slavery was forbidden by the enactment known as the Missouri Compromise? Chief Justice Taney,[1] sustained by four associate justices from slave States and one from a free State, pronounced thereupon the opinion that "no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress greater power over slave property than property of any other description;" hence the enactment of 1820 "is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void."

Unconstitutionality of the Missouri Compromise.

And so the holding of slaves in any Territory of the United States, present or future, could be hindered by no power, residing anywhere, until its inhabitants acquired the sovereignty of the constitution of a State. The Douglas doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" or "popular sovereignty" went down under this absolute decision as completely as the authority of Congress went down, though Douglas tried hard to persuade himself and others that it did not.

289. Collapse in Business. — Mormon Rebellion. 1857. The Dred Scott decision, delighting the south and astounding the north, came on the country at a time when political feeling was much deadened by troubles in the business world. For nearly a decade, successive occurrences in Europe — revolution and war on the continent, following famine in Ireland — had been disturbing production in that part of the world and stimulating it in the United States, until everything in the latter was overdone. The return of peace to Europe in 1856 was

[1] Appointed in 1836 by President Jackson.

followed, in 1857, by a commercial collapse nearly equal to that of 1837.

Among the events of the year was a rebellious attempt of the Mormons in Utah to resist the appointment of a territorial governor, displacing the president of their church, Brigham Young. President Fillmore had appointed Young to the governorship when the Territory was organized; and now President Buchanan gave the office to a Gentile. The Mormon opposition became so threatening that a considerable army escorted the new governor to Salt Lake City, in the spring of 1858.

290. Kansas, and the Lecompton Constitution. 1857. Under Governor John W. Geary, for several months, and then under Governor Robert J. Walker — both of them honorable men, who held pro-slavery opinions, but who strove for fair dealing with the anti-slavery majority in the Territory — a much quieter state of things prevailed in Kansas during 1857. But the fairness of these governors was not pleasing to those at Washington who dictated the policy of Buchanan, as they had dictated the policy of Pierce. When Geary became discouraged and resigned, Walker was persuaded to take the place,

Assurances to Governor Walker.

President Buchanan assuring him that he should be supported in a straightforward attempt to ascertain the will of the real inhabitants of Kansas concerning slavery, and have it carried out. The territorial legislature, which the free-state settlers would not recognize, had ordered an election of delegates to a constitutional convention to be held in June, 1857. The President agreed with Walker that any constitution framed by the convention then elected should be submitted to a free and fair vote of the people. Governor Walker so announced, and tried to persuade the free-state men to take part in the election; but they feared fraud. More-

over, they had adopted a constitution, framed by a convention held at Topeka in October, 1855, which they claimed to be the expression of the will of a majority of the Kansas people. Therefore they held aloof from the convention election, but they came out to vote in the election of a new legislature, and won seats enough to give them full control.

The pro-slavery convention, meeting at the town of Lecompton, constructed a constitution which not only placed slave property on the same footing as other property, but forbade any alteration of that fundamental law. It then appointed an election, to be held in December, at which the people might vote, not for or against the constitution, but "for the constitution with slavery" or "for the constitution without slavery;" and, whatever their vote might be, the right of property in slaves already brought into the Territory should not be impaired. This was "a vile fraud," said Governor Walker, who denounced it without reserve, and he resigned when he learned that the administration would give it approval and support. In his letter of resignation he declared that he knew the Lecompton constitution to be the work of a small minority, and opposed by "an overwhelming majority" of the Kansas people.

The "vile fraud."

291. Revolt of Senator Douglas. — Defeat of the Lecompton Fraud. 1857–1858. At once Senator Douglas took a manly stand with Governor Walker against the Lecompton fraud, breaking with the administration, and bringing about a rupture in the Democratic party that never was healed. The Lecompton constitution "with slavery" was carried easily at the December election, for the free-state men would not vote. In February, 1858, it was sent to Congress by the President, who recommended the admis-

Lecompton constitution carried.

sion of Kansas, with this for its organic law, and who asserted in his message that "Kansas is, at this moment, as much of a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina." Then a battle opened in Congress which stirred the old excitement afresh. Douglas was the hero of the fight; the Republicans were content to be his allies, and gave him the lead. He could not overcome the strong Democratic majority in the Senate, but he did break that in the House. The result of a disagreement between the two branches of Congress was a shabby compromise, according to which the Lecompton constitution was offered to the people of Kansas with a bribe. If they voted to accept it, they should have statehood at once, and receive a large grant of government land. If they voted against it, Kansas would remain a Territory till its population rose to 93,000, and the land grant would be lost.[1] The vote was taken on these conditions in August, and the pro-slavery constitution was rejected by 11,300 against 1788.

Submitted to Congress.

The rejected bribe.

292. Rally of Northern Democrats to Douglas. — The Douglas and Lincoln Debate. 1858. The question was settled; the attempt to fasten slavery upon Kansas had failed, and the cost of the attempt to the "slave power" had been greater than it knew. If the men who acted for it at Washington, and who controlled the President, planned deliberately, as some believe they did, to shatter the northern wing of their party and insure the election of an anti-slavery President, in order to excite the slave States to secession and rebellion, they planned well. Douglas was treated as a traitor to his party, and pursued with unmeasured abuse. The effect

[1] Four days after the passage of the Kansas bill Minnesota was admitted to the Union with a free-state constitution. At the next session of Congress Oregon came in.

was to rally the greater part of the northern Democracy to his support. His senatorial term was about to expire, and the election of the next legislature in Illinois became an exciting event. Against Douglas, Abraham Lincoln was put in nomination by the Republicans; and then followed a personal canvass of the State by these two men which had consequences of immeasurable importance, for the reason that it drew the attention of the country to Mr. Lincoln and made something of his character and ability known.

Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, 1858.

In his own State Mr. Lincoln was famous and beloved already, as a man of singular wisdom and uprightness; but he had acquired no prominence before the nation at large. By good fortune it was arranged that Mr. Lincoln and Senator Douglas should hold seven joint meetings, for public debating of the questions at issue between them. Those debates, in the summer of 1858, reported in many newspapers, were a revelation of Abraham Lincoln to multitudes of people in all the States. Such simple and clear, yet profound and powerful reasoning had never been applied to the dreadful slavery question before. Douglas was a debater of extraordinary adroitness and force; but the stand he had taken, on his theory of "popular sovereignty," not caring, as he declared, "whether slavery be voted up or down," put his argument on grounds that showed to a disadvantage in most minds, under the search-light of moral sense and common sense which Lincoln turned upon them.

Revelation of Lincoln to the people.

His bold fight against the Lecompton fraud gave the senator a strong claim to reëlection, and the result of the canvass was in his favor, so far as concerned that event; but he marred his future chance for the presidency by a new offence to the south. By shrewd ques-

tioning, in debate at Freeport, Mr. Lincoln forced him to say that, in his judgment, the people of a Territory, by "unfriendly legislation," might make it impossible to hold slaves, and thus practically nullify the Dred Scott decision. This "Freeport doctrine," as it was styled, raised a new clamor against Douglas in the south, and provoked a new constitutional claim, namely, that Congress must *protect* slavery in the Territories by Federal law.

Douglas's "Freeport Doctrine."

293. The Purpose of the Republican Party. Before his debates with Douglas began, speaking to the convention which named him for senator, Mr. Lincoln set forth the inexorable issue that the country had to face in these plain words: "We are now far into the fifth year since a policy [that of Douglas] was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States."

The slavery question stated by Lincoln.

Four months later Senator Seward expressed the same belief in less penetrating words. "It is," he said, "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces,

and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave-holding nation or entirely a free-labor nation." **Stated by Seward.**

The conviction expressed in these two utterances was now becoming ripened very rapidly in the minds of a majority of the people at the north: That the conflict between slavery and freedom was "irrepressible;" that no compromise could end it; and that the plain duty of the opponents of slavery was, not to undertake any violent uprooting of the system where it existed already, but, as proposed in Mr. Lincoln's perfect statement, to "arrest the further spread of it, *and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction.*" That was the undertaking for which the Republican party was formed, and the approval of which was drawing to that party a majority of the northern people.

294. John Brown's Attempt at Harper's Ferry. 1859. This undertaking gave no countenance to attacks on slavery in the slave States; least of all to such an attack as was attempted by John Brown (he of the Kansas war, see sect. **285**), who, with eighteen followers, surprised and seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, on the night of October 16, 1859. Brown's plan was to push on to some place in the Virginia mountains that he could fortify and hold, and from which he could make incursions to liberate and arm the slaves; but the people at Harper's Ferry and the neighborhood armed against him so quickly that he got no farther. By noon of the 17th he was besieged in the engine house of the armory, and that night the besiegers were joined by a force of United States marines, under Colonel Robert E. Lee (afterward General Lee, of the Con-

Seizure of the armory.

Colonel Robert E. Lee, 1859.

federate army). The next morning they stormed the building and captured Brown, with six of his companions who were then alive. Ten of Brown's party and five of the townspeople had been killed in the fighting; Brown himself was badly wounded in the final assault. Two weeks after the capture he was tried for treason, conspiracy, and murder, and was condemned to death; on the 2d of December he was hanged. His bearing in the interval impressed even his captors; for he was calmly contented with his fate, and appeared to have no doubt that he had been an instrument in God's hands.

Trial and execution.

295. Threatening Declarations in the South. 1859–1860. If Brown had confederates, outside of his little armed company, they were few, and included no one in political life. This is the only conclusion to be drawn from evidence obtained on his trial and from the results of a Senate investigation. The political effect of his startling attempt was to deepen the feeling, pro-slavery and anti-slavery, that was already intense. This fact appeared when the Thirty-sixth Congress came together, three days after the execution of John Brown, and the House became engaged in a contest for Speaker that lasted two months. The Republicans lacked four of a majority; but they drew votes from the Democrats and elected their candidate in the end. Throughout the following session the tone of southern speeches and the southern press was more threatening than ever before. Again and again it was declared that the south would never submit to the election of a "Black Republican" President; yet those who declared so were preparing for action at the Democratic national convention that would almost insure that result.[1]

Deepening feeling.

[1] See letter of Henry A. Wise in *Nicolay and Hay*, ii. 302.

296. Presidential Canvass of 1860. — Election of Abraham Lincoln. When the delegates to the Democratic convention came together, at Charleston, in April, 1860, a majority of the whole convention, representing an overwhelming majority of the party in the free States, demanded the nomination of Douglas, as the only candidate whom the party could expect to elect. The southern minority declared that no candidate should have their support who would not repudiate the doctrines of Douglas and accept the latest slaveholding dogma, that Congress must *protect* slavery in the Territories from "unfriendly" territorial laws. On this the party was hopelessly split. Most of the delegates from the cotton-growing States withdrew, and the remaining convention adjourned, to meet again at Baltimore in June. At Baltimore a further secession of delegates from the slave States occurred, and Douglas was nominated by those who remained. The seceding Democrats named John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky as their candidate, on the platform which the Douglas Democrats had refused.

Nominations of Douglas and Breckenridge.

Meantime, in May, the Republicans, in convention at Chicago, had made Abraham Lincoln their standard-bearer, disappointing the expectation of many, that Senator Seward would be named. But Lincoln had been growing in the esteem of discerning people, though few had yet discovered him to be, politically, the wisest and strongest man of his day.

Nomination of Lincoln.

A fourth nomination was made in May, by lingering adherents to the Whig and American parties, who united in what they named the Constitutional Union party, and brought John Bell, of Tennessee, with Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, into the field.

Nomination of Bell.

Of the result of the election there could be but one doubt: would it be settled by the popular vote? Neither Douglas nor Breckenridge could hope to win a majority in the electoral college; but Lincoln might do so, and the Republican canvass for him was conducted with a vigor that his opponents could not rouse. It was in this presidential campaign, and by the champions of Lincoln, that marching companies for torchlight processions (called "Wide Awake Clubs" at the time) were first organized and drilled. On the 6th of November the momentous election occurred, and the Republicans were victorious in every free State. The slave States were carried for Breckenridge, excepting Missouri, which gave Douglas a majority, and Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, which were carried for Bell. New Jersey divided its electoral votes, giving Lincoln 4 and Douglas 3. In all, Lincoln had 180 electoral votes, Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, Douglas 12. But this does not indicate the popular vote, of which Lincoln received 1,866,452, Douglas 1,375,157, Breckenridge 847,953, Bell 590,631.

Lincoln "Wide Awakes."

Lincoln's election.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

275. Presidential Canvass of 1848. — Election of Taylor and Fillmore.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The absorbing political question. — Blind attempts to keep it out of the presidential canvass. 2. New anti-slavery movement of the "Free Soilers." 3. "Barnburners" and "Hunkers" in New York. 4. Nominations for the presidency. — Result of the election. Holst, *United States*, iii. 358–385, 397–400, 402–403; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 291–314; Hart, *Chase*, 95–102; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 156–157.

276. Pro-slavery and Anti-slavery Demands.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. How the slavery question was decided in California. 2. President Taylor's policy. — Resentment of southern extremists. 3. Pro-slavery demands. — Grounds for claiming a new fugitive slave law. 4. Anti-slavery demands. — Heated feeling of the time. Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 319–331; Lothrop, 63–75, 77; Holst, *United States*, iii. 404–407, 413, 461–484; Rhodes, i. 104–119; Hart, *Chase*, 120–123.

277. The Compromise of 1850. — Death of President Taylor. — Accession of President Fillmore.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Jacksonian spirit of President Taylor. — Different temper of Congress. 2. Compromise brought about by Henry Clay. — Its leading supporters and opponents. 3. Death of President Taylor. — Approval of compromise measures by President Fillmore. Lothrop, 79–103; Rhodes, i. 119–137, 171–180; Holst, *United States*, iii. 484–496, 515–543; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 331–355; Clay, iii. ch. vi.–vii., appendix, and vi. 426–591; Seward, i. 94–131; Johnston, *Am. Orations*, ii. 46–83, 118–134.

4. Webster's "Seventh of March speech." — Feeling excited by it (text in Webster, v. 324–367, and, abridged, in Johnston, *Am. Orations*, ii. 84–117). Rhodes, i. 137–161; Holst, *United States*, iii. 497–507; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 52–56.

5. The five measures of the compromise (text in MacDonald, ii. 378–390). Holst, *United States*, iii. 543–548, 555–561; Rhodes, i. 181–185; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 355–364.

6. The feeling that was satisfied by the compromise. Holst, *United States*, iii. 561–562, iv. 14–21; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 366–375.

278. The Fugitive Slave Law.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Provisions of the law (text in Larned, *Ready Ref.;* Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 56–58), and how they destroyed the safeguards of freedom for black men. 2. Passionate feelings excited by the law. 3. Appeals to a "higher law." — Personal liberty laws (text in Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 93–96). — Riotous acts. Rhodes, i. 185–189,

207–213, 222–226, 162–168, ii. 73–74; Holst, *United States*, iii. 548–555, iv. 21–40, v. 61–70; Schurz, *Clay*, ii. 369–372, 375–376; Nicolay and Hay, iii. ch. ii.; Lothrop, 104–105; Seward, i. 51–93; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 84–91.

4. The "Underground Railway." Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 80–83, 91–93; Rhodes, ii. 74–77; Siebert.

5. "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Rhodes, i. 278–285, 362–365; Holst, *United States*, iv. 237–242.

279. Incidents of the Period. 1849–1852.

Topics and References.

1. Material prosperity and advance. 2. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (text in MacDonald, ii. 373–377). Rhodes, i. 199–202; Wharton, ii. ch. vi. sect. 150.

3. Perry's expedition to Japan. Griffis, ch. xxvii.–xxxiii.

4. The Hulsemann letter (text in Webster, vi. 488–506). Rhodes, i. 205–206; Holst, *United States*, iv. 65–75.

5. Kossuth's visit. Holst, *United States*, iv. 75–100; Lothrop, 112–118; Rhodes, i. 231–243.

6. The Lopez expedition. Rhodes, i. 216–222; Holst, *United States*, iv. 45–63.

280. Presidential Canvass of 1852. — Election of Franklin Pierce.

Topics and References.

1. Weakened anti-slavery sentiment. 2. Nomination of General Scott by the Whigs and of Franklin Pierce by the Democrats. 3. Cause of Democratic strength. — Election of Pierce. Holst, *United States*, iv. 133–134, 140–231; Rhodes, i. 243–261, 269–278; Nicolay and Hay, i. 330–333.

4. Deaths of Webster and Clay. Rhodes, i. 261, 285–288.

281. Minor Incidents of the Pierce Administration.

Topics and References.

1. The Martin Koszta affair. Rhodes, i. 416–419.

2. Reciprocity treaty with Canada. Rhodes, ii. 8–9; *Treaties and Conventions*, 448–452.

3. "Ostend Manifesto" (text in MacDonald, ii. 405–412). Rhodes, ii. 10–44; Holst, *United States*, v. 35–50.

RESEARCH. — Walker's filibustering operations in Nicaragua and elsewhere. Holst, *United States*, v. 470–480, vi. 158–164, 197–202.

282. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Senator Douglas's report and bill (text in MacDonald, ii. 395–402). 2. Assumed effect of the Compromise of 1850. 3. The principle of "popular sovereignty," or "squatter sovereignty." 4. Division of Nebraska. — Provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska bill (text in MacDonald, ii. 403–405). 5. Passage of the bill. — Its opponents and supporters. 6. The political effect. Hart, *Chase*, 133–135, 143–147; Lothrop, 123–141; Holst, *United States*, iv. 282–461; Nicolay and Hay, i. 333–350; Rhodes, i. 424–490, 494–506; Storey, 117–118; Lincoln, i. 180–209; Davis, i. 27–28; Seward, iv. 433–479; Johnston, *Am. Orations*, ii. 183–255; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 97–100.

283. Rise of the Republican Party.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Failure to gather anti-slavery forces into the Whig party. 2. Rise of the Republican party. 3. Lead of the west in forming the new party. Rhodes, ii. 44–73; Nicolay and Hay, i. ch. xx.; Lothrop, ch. viii.; Storey, 117–130; Hart, *Chase*, 150–152; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 100–104; Holst, *United States*, v. 130–133; Seward, iv. 225–240.

284. The American or "Know Nothing" Party.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Native American organization against foreign-born citizens. 2. The secret society and its name. 3. Formation of the American party. Rhodes, ii. 50–58; Holst, *United States*, v. 79–129; Hart, *Chase*, 152–154.

285. The Strife for Kansas.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Why and how there was strife for Kansas. 2. Emigration from free States. — Armed invasion from Missouri. 3. The three governors who would not uphold the invasion. Rhodes, ii. 78–87, 98–107, 236–240; Nicolay and Hay, i. 393–418; Lothrop, 162–166; Holst, *United States*, v. 70–76, 138–172; MacDonald, ii. 413–415; Seward, iv. 479–512; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 104–114.

4. Lawless violence on both sides. — Mob destruction of Lawrence, and massacre by John Brown. Holst, *United States*, v. 172–185, 286–313; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 114–118; Rhodes, ii. 150–168, 215–220; Nicolay and Hay, i. ch. xxv.; ii. 191.

286. Election of Speaker Banks. — Assault on Senator Sumner.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Rapid anti-slavery consolidation in the Republican party, shown in the election of Speaker Banks. Rhodes, ii. 107–117; Holst, *United States*, v. 186–223.

2. Senator Sumner's speech (text in Johnston, *Am. Orations*, ii. 256–288) and Brooks's assault upon him. 3. Resignation and reëlection of Brooks. Storey, 138–164; Rhodes, ii. 131–150; Holst, *United States*, v. 313–333; Johnston, *Am. Orations*, ii. 289–306.

287. Presidential Canvass of 1856. — Election of President Buchanan.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Nominations of Buchanan, Frémont, and Fillmore. 2. Democratic and Republican declarations. Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. ii.; Rhodes, ii. 169–186; Holst, *United States*, v. 256–270, 334–376.

3. Sectional vote for Frémont. — Menaces from the south. 4. Significance of Buchanan's election. Rhodes, ii. 202–215, 220–236; Holst, *United States*, v. 436–467.

288. Dred Scott Decision.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The case of Dred Scott in the Supreme Court. 2. The two questions involved. 3. Decision of the court that no descendant of a slave could be a citizen of the United States. 4. Further de-

cision that the Missouri Compromise enactment was unconstitutional (text in MacDonald, ii. 416–435). 5. Effect of the decision. Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. iv.; Rhodes, ii. 249–271; Holst, *United States*, vi. ch. i.; Lincoln, i. 228–235; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 122–135; Lothrop, 181–186.

289. Collapse in Business. — Mormon Rebellion.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Causes of business collapse in 1857. Blaine, i. ch. ix.; Holst, *United States*, vi. 99–125; Rhodes, ii. 45–56.

2. Rebellious attitude of Mormons. Holst, *United States*, vi. 129–150, 255–261.

290. Kansas, and the Lecompton Constitution.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Effort of governors Geary and Walker to deal honestly with the Kansas people. 2. Buchanan's assurance to Walker. 3. Free-state men hold aloof from the convention election. 4. The fraud of the Lecompton constitution (text in MacDonald, ii. 435–437). 5. Walker's denunciation of it. Rhodes, ii. 271–281; Lothrop, 186–191; Holst, *United States*, vi. 47–96; Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. vi.; Seward, iv. 574–618; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 119–121.

291. Revolt of Senator Douglas. — Defeat of the Lecompton Fraud.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Stand taken by Senator Douglas. 2. The fraudulent constitution sustained by President Buchanan. 3. Battle in Congress. — Division of the Democratic party. 4. Bribe offered to Kansas and rejected. 5. Defeat of the constitution. Rhodes, ii. 282–301; Holst, *United States*, vi. ch. iv.–v.; Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. vii.; Lothrop, 191–199.

292. Rally of Northern Democrats to Douglas. — The Douglas and Lincoln Debate.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Douglas's reëlection contested by Abraham Lincoln. 2. Reputation of Lincoln in Illinois. 3. The Lincoln and Douglas debates (text in Lincoln, i. 273–518). — Their revelation of Lincoln's abil-

ity. 4. Election of Douglas. 5. His "Freeport Doctrine," and the new demand which it raised in the south. Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. viii.–ix.; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. ch. v.; Rhodes, ii. 313–343; Holst, *United States*, vi. 267–298; Tarbell, i. ch. xviii.; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 46–50.

293. The Purpose of the Republican Party.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Lincoln's statement of the issue. 2. Seward's statement. 3. The conviction to which a majority in the north was brought. Lincoln, i. 240–245; Seward, iv. 289–302; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 136–141; Holst, vi. 265–269, 283–286.

RESEARCH. — Compare this with Calhoun's view of the possibilities of the preservation of the Union. Holst, *Calhoun*, 339–349.

294. John Brown's Attempt at Harper's Ferry.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Brown's seizure of the armory at Harper's Ferry, and his plan. 2. Its quick discomfiture. 3. Death or capture of most of Brown's party. 4. His trial, condemnation, and execution. 5. His contentment with his fate. Holst, *United States*, vii. 18–59; Rhodes, ii. 383–416; Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. xi.; Long, 85–86; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 144–150.

RESEARCH. — Different views of John Brown and his undertaking. Holst, *Brown*, 156–175, 204–232; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 36–44; Thoreau.

295. Threatening Declarations in the South.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. No confederates of Brown in public life. — Political effect of his attempt. 2. Election of a Republican Speaker of the House. 3. Threatenings from the south. Rhodes, ii. 402, 417–440; Holst, *United States*, vii. ch. ii.; Blaine, i. 155–156.

RESEARCH. — Helper's book, "The Impending Crisis of the South," and its indication of a rising opposition to slavery in the south. Burgess, *Civil War*, i. ch. ii.

296. Presidential Canvass of 1860. — Election of Abraham Lincoln.

Topics and References.

1. Southern secession from the Democratic national convention at Charleston. 2. Adjournment to Baltimore and second secession. 3. Nomination of Douglas by northern Democrats and of Breckenridge by southern. Rhodes, ii. 440–454, 473–475; Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. xiii.–xiv.; Holst, *United States*, i. ch. iii., v.; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 50–58, 69–70.

4. Nomination of Lincoln by the Republicans, and of Bell and Everett by Americans and Whigs. 5. Vigor of the Republican canvass. — The "Wide Awake" organization. 6. Election of Lincoln. Morse, *Lincoln*, i. ch. vi.; Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. xv.–xvi.; Rhodes, ii. 454, 456–473, 477–502; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 58–73; Holst, *United States*, vii. ch. iv., vi.; Hart, *Chase*, 183–196; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 155–159; Lothrop, ch. xi.; Seward, iv. 679–680; Tarbell, i. ch. xix.–xx.

SECESSION, CIVIL WAR, AND REUNION. 1860–1880.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

Its First Period: Sparing Slavery. 1860–1862.

297. Secession begun. — President Buchanan's Message. — Efforts at Compromise. December, 1860–February, 1861. The Republicans had won the presidency, but they controlled neither branch of Congress; and a Republican President, opposed by majorities in the national legislature, could do no harm to slavery if he would. So argued the ablest statesman of the south, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, in a speech to the legislature of his State after the election of Lincoln was known. Nevertheless, the long-threatened movement of secession was set instantly on foot. South Carolina led the way, calling a convention to meet on the 17th of December for the action desired; and the Gulf States made ready to follow her lead. What would the national government do?

A. H. Stephens, November 14, 1860.

President Buchanan gave his answer when Congress met, on the 3d of December, and his message was sent in. It was a message which Jefferson Davis (according to his own account)[1] and other disunion leaders had

[1] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, i. 57–59.

approved, in the main, before it was sent. They regretted that the President should feel called upon to question, as he did, the right of the slave States to secede; but that mattered little, since he went on to argue that no right or power to interfere with their secession could be found. Most of his feelings and opinions were in agreement with theirs, and if one of their own number had been President, they could hardly have controlled the executive arm of the government more completely than they did.

Buchanan's message.

In Congress, the first impulse was to labor for some new contrivance of compromise. Many were ready to urge the repealing of all "personal liberty laws" in the northern States which hindered the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; but that would not suffice. The slaveholding interest would listen to nothing less than the legalizing and protecting of slave labor in every Territory, as a constitutional right. Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, proposed a constitutional amendment, restoring the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′, extending it to the Pacific, prohibiting slavery north of it, and protecting slavery south of it, according to the recent demand. Democrats generally, at the north, and many Republicans were disposed to accede to this, if it would preserve peace. Mr. Seward appears to have had a hesitating inclination that way; but Mr. Lincoln stood firm in private remonstrance against the yielding of consent to any extension of slavery beyond its existing bounds. On other matters he would go far in concession for present peace, but not on that, which might postpone the threatened conflict, but only to bring it on at a later time. There was, he said, "but one compromise that would really settle the slavery ques-

Proposed Crittenden Compromise.

Mr. Lincoln's remonstrance.

tion, and that would be a prohibition against acquiring any more territory."[1] The Senate voted down the "Crittenden Compromise."

South Carolina had waited for no discussion of compromises, but held her convention and, on the 20th of December, passed her "Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America." Her example was followed in January by Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, and by Texas on the first of the next month. There the movement paused. In all these States there had been more or less of opposition to be overborne, and in Georgia, where Stephens led it, the opposition had been strong; but Stephens yielded readily to the action of his State, and most other Unionists appear to have done the same.

Secession of seven States.

298. Surrender of Forts and National Property. — Loyalty at Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens. December–January, 1860–1861. Meantime, the authorities of the seceding States were seizing forts, arsenals, arms, and other property of the United States, which the government at Washington made no attempt to protect. It was believed that the Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, of Virginia, had prepared for these seizures by stripping arsenals in the northern States and filling those of the south; but that alleged treachery is disputed, and there seems to be some doubt about the facts. At least, it is certain that the heads of the national government, for some weeks after secession began, resisted nothing that the secessionists saw fit to

[1] Lincoln, i. 657–659, 664, 668–669; Nicolay and Hay, iii. 288.

do. In a few instances, however, there were officers of the army who defended their posts. The most notable example of such loyalty was given at Charleston, where Major Robert Anderson held command of three forts in the harbor, with a garrison of about sixty men. He had asked for more men, and they had been refused. On the 26th of December, after the South Carolina ordinance of secession was passed, and while the President was listening to demands for the surrender of the forts, Major Anderson, on his own responsibility, spiked the guns of two of them, and concentrated his little force in Fort Sumter, the most defensible of the three (see Map in sect. **329**). With difficulty, it appears, the President was dissuaded from ordering him back. Major Anderson's example was more than imitated at Pensacola, a little later, by Lieutenant Slemmer, who defied a command from his immediate superior to give up Forts Pickens and McRae. Abandoning the latter work, Lieutenant Slemmer held Fort Pickens until reinforced.

Major Robert Anderson.

Lieutenant Slemmer.

299. A Loyal Cabinet secured. December–January, 1860–1861. In the last days of December and early in January several changes in the cabinet of President Buchanan, caused by resignations, gave the administration a new character and altered the face of affairs. Joseph Holt, a loyal Kentuckian, took the place of Floyd, Secretary of War; General John A. Dix succeeded Howell Cobb, of Georgia, in the Treasury Department; Edwin M. Stanton became Attorney-General in place of Jeremiah S. Black, who replaced General Cass in the Department of State. These were staunch Unionists and strong men, and their influence in the government was felt at once. General Dix thrilled the country (January 29) by telegraphing to treasury

officials at New Orleans, where revenue cutters and custom-house property were being turned over to the State: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." But the message went too late; everything had been given up.

General Dix's telegram, January 29, 1861.

Early in January the President consented to an attempt to send 200 men to Major Anderson, at Sumter, with supplies; but the unarmed steamer Star of the West which conveyed them was fired upon from hostile batteries already erected, and driven back.

The Star of the West.

300. Secessionists withdrawn from Congress. January–February, 1861. As fast as the revolting States accomplished their secession in due form, their senators and representatives withdrew from Congress, and before the end of January the Republicans were a majority in the House, while they lacked but one of a tie in the Senate vote. They were able in the latter body to pass two pending bills, received from the House in the previous session, one of which admitted Kansas to the Union, under a new constitution, adopted in 1859. The other bill, known as the "Morrill Tariff," made important changes in the duties levied on foreign imports, raising them from an average of about 19 per cent. to about 36. In both houses bills to organize the territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota were passed. Both houses recommended to the legislatures of the States a constitutional amendment forbidding any future amendment that would give Congress the power to interfere with slavery in any State. The proposal met with no favor in the south.

Kansas admitted.

Morrill Tariff.

301. Fruitless Peace Convention. — Organization of

the "Confederate States of America." **February, 1861.** On the 4th of February a Peace Convention of delegates from 21 States met at Washington, on the invitation of Virginia, to seek anxiously for some ground of harmony; but it had no result. On the same day delegates from six of the seceding States met at Montgomery, Ala., and proceeded, first, to organize provisionally a Confederate government, and then to prepare the permanent constitution of the "Confederate States of America," for submission to the States. By unanimous vote, Jefferson Davis was chosen President and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President of the government thus formed.

Jefferson Davis, President.

302. Inaugural Address of President Lincoln. — His Cabinet. March 4, 1861. On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States, and delivered an inaugural address which has taken its place among the masterpieces of political literature, — a model, in spirit, in thought, in expression, in accord with its occasion, that has never been surpassed. Of the duties he assumed and his intentions in performing them he said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere." At the close he addressed himself with deep feeling to the discontented part of the nation in these words: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to

destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.' I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Abraham Lincoln's appeal.

President Lincoln's cabinet, announced the following day, was composed of William H. Seward, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, Attorney-General; Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General. Mr. Bates was from Missouri, Mr. Blair from Maryland, the remainder were from free States. Mr. Cameron left the War Department in the following January, and was succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton, who had been Attorney-General in the last months of Buchanan's term.

The cabinet.

303. Fort Sumter attacked and taken.[1] **April 12–14, 1861.** From the first hour of his responsibility the new President had appalling problems to face. Major Anderson reported that his provisions in Fort Sumter were nearly exhausted, and that the hostile forces and batteries surrounding the fort were so formidable that 20,000 troops would be needed to defend it if attacked. What was to be done? Above all things, it was important that no blame for a beginning of warlike action should rest on the government, and no feel-

Anderson's condition.

[1] See map of Charleston harbor in sect. 329.

ing on that score be provoked, north or south. On the other hand, it was equally important that the government should show no sign of weakness by giving up the fort. From either measure, evacuation or reinforcement, there were dangerous effects to be feared. The President listened to conflicting counsels on the subject, weighed them with the careful thought that made him the great man he was, and waited till the time drew near when Major Anderson must have supplies of food. Then he formally notified the governor of South Carolina that "an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only; and that if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort." The response to this notice was an immediate order to General Beauregard, commander of the Confederate forces at Charleston, which that officer obeyed by summoning Major Anderson to surrender, and by opening his batteries on the fort (April 12) when the surrender was refused. For thirty-four hours the bombardment was kept up, the few men in the fort returning the fire as effectually as they could, until their quarters were destroyed and their magazine was surrounded by flames. On the afternoon of April 13, Major Anderson accepted terms offered by Beauregard, and on the following day, Sunday, April 14, he and his little company, with colors flying, marched out.

Notification to Governor Pickens, April 8, 1861.

Surrender of Fort Sumter.

304. Loyal Uprising in the Country. — The President's Call for Troops. — Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts in Baltimore. April, 1861. The dreadful challenge which the government would not even seem to offer had been given by the revolting States, and the

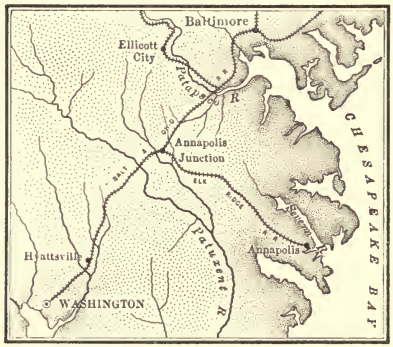
aggressiveness of the act doomed their revolt to failure, by rousing and uniting such a feeling against it as nothing else could have stirred. No one knew the depth and strength of national sentiment in the country until news of the attack on Fort Sumter was flashed through the land and woke it with a shock. Party differences were nearly swept from men's minds for a time, in two thirds of the States. Prompt assurances went to the government that the power at its command, for maintaining its constitutional authority and resisting the destruction of the Union, was substantially the power of the whole population of the free States, and of the larger part of the people in the border slave States. President Lincoln had a rival and an opponent no longer, but a firm ally and a powerful supporter, in Stephen A. Douglas, the strong leader of northern Democrats, who lived long enough, and only long enough, to make his stand known. In a speech at Chicago, on the 1st of May, Douglas said: "There can be no neutrals in this war; only patriots — or traitors." On the 3d of June he died, and the Union cause suffered its first great loss.

Loyal stand of Senator Douglas. His death, June 3, 1861.

By proclamation, April 15, the President called for 75,000 of the militia of the States, to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States. The same proclamation summoned Congress to a special session on the 4th of July. Massachusetts was the State best prepared to answer the call for militia, and the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment left Boston for Washington on the 17th. Passing through Baltimore on the 19th, the regiment was attacked by a mob, and had to fight its way from one railway station to another, losing four killed and one wounded

Secessionist mob in Baltimore, April 19.

in the fight. By burning bridges and tearing up tracks the Baltimore secessionists blocked the direct route to Washington for three weeks. They were suppressed by the strong loyal sentiment in Maryland, which soon gained the upper hand and kept it firmly throughout the war; but Washington was cut off from the north for some days, and in an almost defenceless state. After the Sixth Massachusetts, no regiments reached the city till the 25th, when the Seventh New York and the Eighth Massachusetts arrived, by way of Annapolis, repairing bridges, tracks, and locomotives on the way. From that time the gathering of troops proceeded rapidly. On the 3d of May the President called for 42,000 volunteers and for 18,000 seamen, besides ordering an increased enlistment of regular troops.



APPROACHES TO WASHINGTON FROM THE NORTH.

305. Confederate Privateers. — Federal Blockade. — British Proclamation of Neutrality. April–May, 1861. The Confederate Congress, sitting at Richmond, ordered the raising of 100,000 volunteers. On the 17th of April the Confederate President, Davis, issued an offer of commissions to privateers, for preying on the ocean commerce of the country; to which President Lincoln replied on the 19th, proclaiming a blockade of southern ports, and declaring that the proposed privateers would be dealt with as pirates when taken at sea. These

measures led the British government to issue a proclamation of neutrality, on the 13th of May, thus recognizing the Confederates as belligerents, putting their cruisers on a legal footing, and giving them the rights of war. This excited bitter feeling at the time; but, inasmuch as our own government was forced before long to concede belligerent rights to the Confederates, there was nothing to be complained of with good reason in the queen's proclamation except the haste with which it was put forth.

306. Second Secession Movement by Four More States. April–May, 1861. In most of the slave States the effect of President Lincoln's call for troops was to reinforce the secession movement by large numbers of people who had resisted it before. The right to secede was one of the "state rights" they believed in, and, while opposed to the present exercise of the right, they were opposed to the denial of it still more. They would not take part in "coercing a sovereign State." That was the attitude of many persons in the eight slave States that stood aloof from the first movement of secession. After the 15th of April such persons went over to the secessionists in a body, and joined in carrying Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee into the rebellious league.[1] Another class of people in those States opposed secession to the end, and grieved bitterly over the breaking of the

Opposition to "coercing a State."

[1] Ordinances of secession were passed in Virginia, April 17; in Arkansas, May 6; in North Carolina, May 21. The Tennessee legislature voted a military league with the Southern Confederacy on the 8th of May and ratified the Confederate Constitution, subject to a vote of the people, which was given affirmatively on the 8th of June.

Union, but felt bound to accept the action and share the fortunes of their States. This was the feeling of General Robert E. Lee. It was not the Southern Confederacy, but Virginia, that drew him away.

Robert E. Lee.

307. The Border Slave States. — Kentucky and Missouri held in the Union. April–September, 1861. None of the different feelings that carried Virginia and Tennessee into the Confederacy were effective in the mountain regions of those States. There, in West Virginia and East Tennessee, whose people, to a large extent, were of the strong and stubborn Scotch-Irish stock, holding few slaves, caring little for the "peculiar institution" and less for "state rights," there was a faithfulness to the Union which nothing overcame.

The loyal mountaineers.

A long, hard struggle between Unionists and secessionists in Kentucky was made successful to the former by President Lincoln's wise course. Had he yielded to the hot demand of northern radicals for hasty and violent measures against slavery, every border slave State would have become hostile; and no one else saw so clearly as he did how enormously the difficulties of the government would be increased if that occurred. In Missouri the contest for control of the State was severe, and the first serious operations of war were there. The Unionists had a bold and able leader in Francis P. Blair, Jr., of St. Louis, whose influence had brought about the formation and training of four regiments in that city before the opening of the war. Blair's exertions were seconded energetically by Captain Nathaniel Lyon, U. S. A., who commanded the national arsenal at St. Louis, and he had the support of a large German popu-

Lincoln's wisdom.

Blair and Lyon at St. Louis.

lation in the city, which was loyal to a man. Blair and Lyon were able to baffle the designs of a secessionist governor and legislature, to save the arsenal from seizure, to make St. Louis safe, and, ultimately, to hold the State.

308. The Opposing States and People in the War. According to the census of 1860, the population of the United States and Territories that year, in round numbers, was 31,440,000. A few more than 9,000,000, or less than one third of this population, was found in the 11 States now at war with the remaining 23 States; and over 3,500,000, or more than one third of the population of those 11 States, were slaves. Of white inhabitants, the States of the revolting Confederacy numbered less than 5,500,000, against more than 21,500,000 in the States and Territories adhering to the Union and upholding it in the pending civil war. From three of the latter States, some considerable number of men went south to join the armies of the Confederacy; but what they added to its military strength was offset, or nearly so, by the Unionists of West Virginia and eastern Tennessee who entered the armies of the United States.

Comparative numbers.

In wealth, and in all the resources that make up military power, the superiority was even greater on the side of the loyal States. The active capital of the country, its mechanical industries, its commercial enterprises, were almost entirely in their hands. Their railroads and other means of transportation were more extensive and much better in equipment than those of the south. They were prepared for the self-supplying of most of their needs, in peace or war, while the instruments and agencies of trade with the outside world were under their control. In their mate-

Northern resources.

rial circumstances they had really no injury or deprivation to fear from the state of war.

On the other hand, the States of the Confederacy had little to draw upon for supporting a war except their plantations and the unskilled labor of their slaves. Their undertakings in manufacture were few and small, and not many of their people were mechanically skilled. They depended on the sale of their cotton and tobacco crops for means with which to purchase most things that they needed, aside from food. When the exportation and sale of those crops were interrupted by the blockade of their ports, they were distressed by want of many of the commonest comforts of life; their armies were sorely crippled by lack of proper military supplies, and their railroads could hardly be kept in any serviceable state.

Southern deficiencies.

But, while they fought under great disadvantages, with a foe far more powerful in numbers and resources than themselves, the people of the Confederacy had important advantages of their own in the war. (1) They fought defensively, for the most part, in positions where their forces were often matched fairly against larger numbers on the attacking side. (2) Fighting on their own ground, their better knowledge of it, and their better means of learning all the movements of their opponents, were often worth more to their commanders than many regiments of men. (3) Their military movements, in shifting forces from one point of defence to another, were on lines much shorter than the attacking forces could be moved upon, which is an advantage of great importance in war. (4) The very stopping of their cotton production, and the overthrow of all prosperity among them, compelled them to devote themselves wholly to the war, making it the

Confederate advantages.

sole business of everybody; while a large majority of the people on the other side were continuing their usual pursuits, and only detailing, as it were, a certain minority to conduct the war. (5) Their slaves, attempting no insurrection, but giving faithful service in labors of the camp as well as in those of the plantation, were no source of weakness to them, but one of positive military strength.

Considering all things, the 22,000,000 (almost) of people who upheld the Union were none too many, and their wealth and their resources were none too great, for the task they had taken in hand. To wear out the resisting power of 5,500,000 of an indomitable race was an almost impossible thing to undertake and a dreadful thing to do.

309. The First Notable Victims of the War. — Slaves declared "Contraband." May–June, 1861. The first advance from Washington was made on the 23d of May, when troops crossed the Potomac to occupy Alexandria, and the neighboring Virginia shore. The advance was led by a much admired regiment from New York, and its young commander, Colonel Ellsworth, became the first notable victim of the war. While removing a Confederate flag from a hotel in Alexandria, he was shot by the owner of the house.

Colonel Ellsworth.

The next death of note was that of Theodore Winthrop, a brilliant young writer, who fell in an encounter at Big Bethel, near Fortress Monroe, on the 10th of June.

Theodore Winthrop.

The commander at Fortress Monroe, General Benjamin F. Butler, had given great satisfaction to the country a few days before (May 24) by declaring that slaves who escaped from Virginia owners to his lines were "contraband of war," and

General Butler's dictum.

should be surrendered to no claimants except those who took the oath of allegiance to the United States. This dictum was approved by the government, and settled its first line of policy in dealing with refugee slaves.

310. McClellan in Loyal West Virginia. — Its Secession from the Old Dominion. 1861–1862. Late in May, an important campaign was opened in West

FIELD OF WAR IN WEST VIRGINIA.

Virginia by General George B. McClellan, a West Point officer of distinction, who had resigned from the army a few years before to accept employment in civil life. Like most officers from the north who had left the army, he had been prompt in answering the national call to arms. During June and the first half of July, McClellan's forces won a series of engagements at

Philippi, Rich Mountain, Laurel Hill, and Carrick's Ford, which freed West Virginia for a time. This protected the Unionists in action taken to organize what assumed to be the lawful government of the State of Virginia, and it was recognized at Washington as such. Some months later (May, 1862) this somewhat fictitious government of the old State of Virginia authorized the organization of West Virginia as a separate State, which Congress admitted to the Union in December, 1862.

311. President Lincoln's First Message. — Action of Congress. July–August, 1861. The special session of Congress opened on the 4th of July. The President's message to it was a remarkable paper, and it influenced the country with the singular power that always attended Mr. Lincoln's words. The unity of feeling in Congress was so great that a resolution pledging "any amount of money and any number of men" that might be needed was adopted in the House of Representatives with only five opposing votes, though 70 Democrats and Constitutional Unionists were in the membership of the House. What the President had done in advance of law was approved; authority was given to raise 500,000 volunteers and to make a loan of $250,000,000; an increase of revenue was provided for by higher duties and by an income tax, and an act "to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," including slaves, was passed.

500,000 volunteers, July, 1861.

312. First Battle of Bull Run.[1] — McClellan called to the Army of the Potomac. July–August, 1861. By the middle of July the Union army on the Potomac, at and near Washington, numbered about 30,000 men,

[1] See Map XII.

and 18,000 or 20,000 more were in the Shenandoah valley. General Irwin McDowell, an excellent officer of the regular army, commanded the former, and the latter force was under General Patterson, a veteran of the Mexican War. McDowell was confronted by General Beauregard, with nearly 22,000 Confederate troops, at Manassas Junction, and Patterson by General Joseph E. Johnston, who had but 9000 men. There was impatience in the country for some action by the main armies of the Union, and McDowell moved forward on the 16th of July. Patterson was directed to keep Johnston's force engaged and allow none to be sent to join Beauregard. He failed to do so, and the Confederates slipped from him, with fatal consequences to the movement of McDowell. When the latter attacked his opponent, at the little stream called Bull Run, on Sunday, July 21, 6000 of Johnston's troops had reached the ground already, and the remainder arrived that afternoon, in time to change the fortunes of the day. The Union army had substantially won the battle, when the fresh troops broke their line, and a wild rout ensued. It was a mob rather than an army that fled back to the fortifications on the Potomac, and it seemed almost, for the moment, that the national cause was lost. But after the first shock of humiliation and alarm, the spirit of the country and of the army rose again to more resoluteness than before.

Cause of Union defeat.

Effect of defeat on the nation.

General McClellan was now appointed to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and became the idol of its officers and men. For the work of military organization his ability was unsurpassed, and an army of imposing magnitude and power grew under his hands.

313. Important Commands and Commanders. —

McClellan at the Head. July – October, 1861. The command next in importance to McClellan's was that of the Department of the West, to which General Frémont was appointed on the 9th of July. The Confederates in Missouri had then been driven by Lyon into the southwestern corner of the State; but they were rallying superior numbers against him, and he received no help, except from a small force under Sigel, a German officer, whose name began to be on men's tongues. On the 10th of August Lyon was killed in a desperate battle fought at Wilson's Creek.

Battle of Wilson's Creek.

While one most promising career came thus to an untimely end in the west, another was opening not far away. Frémont had appointed General Ulysses S. Grant to the command of a district on the Mississippi River, embracing southeastern Missouri and southern Illinois. Grant was a graduate of West Point who had left the army six years before, but returned to service as a volunteer. Soon after assuming his district command he seized Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee, — a position the importance of which he was to demonstrate at a later day.

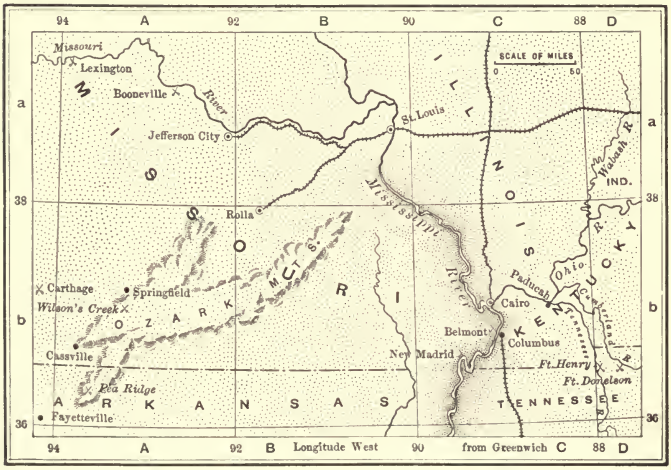
Ulysses S. Grant.

The administration of the Department of the West by General Frémont proved unsatisfactory in many respects. Without authority, and in defiance of the well-considered policy of the government, he issued a proclamation, on the 31st of August, assuming to free the slaves and confiscate the property of all persons in arms within his department, and threatening a summary execution of every one taken in arms within a certain region that he described. By the excitement that this caused, among thoughtless anti-slavery people who applauded it, on one

Frémont's emancipation proclamation, August, 1861.

hand, and in the border slave States on the other, serious mischief was done. The proclamation was modified by President Lincoln, to accord with the confiscation act of Congress; and finally, in October, it became necessary, for many reasons, to remove Frémont from his command.

The Department of the West was then divided, General Halleck commanding in Missouri, General Hunter



FIELD OF WAR IN AND AROUND MISSOURI AND WESTERN KENTUCKY.

in Kansas, and General Canby in New Mexico. At the same time General Don Carlos Buell was assigned to command the Department of the Ohio, and General Rosecrans to that of West Virginia.

McClellan succeeds Scott.

At the end of October General Scott retired from the general command of all the armies (under the President, whom the Constitution makes Commander-in-chief), and General McClellan was raised to his place. At that time the Army of the

Potomac was 168,000 strong, in excellent condition, and splendidly equipped. It is now known from the Confederate records that the army confronting it, under General Johnston, numbered but 41,000 effective troops; but McClellan estimated them at 150,000, and reported that he could not attack them in their intrenchments with less than 240,000 men. Consequently, throughout the fall and winter, the great army in his hands was unused.

Strength of Army of Potomac.

314. The Blockade. — Joint Naval and Military Operations. 1861–1862. The most effective work of that period was in the blockading service of the navy, and in joint naval and military expeditions on the Atlantic coast. By purchasing and adapting steam vessels of every available kind, a sufficient navy had been made up for what became an effective blockade of southern ports. Nothing in the operations of the war could cripple the Confederate States more than a blockade that would keep their raw cotton and other sources of wealth from going out to be sold, and manufactures (of war materials especially) from coming in. This could not be done perfectly, for blockade-running by swift British steamers was carried on with great energy and boldness, especially from ports in the Bahamas and Bermudas; but it was accomplished so far as to cause extreme poverty and distress in the blockaded States, and to add enormously to the difficulties with which their armies were equipped and their railroads kept up.

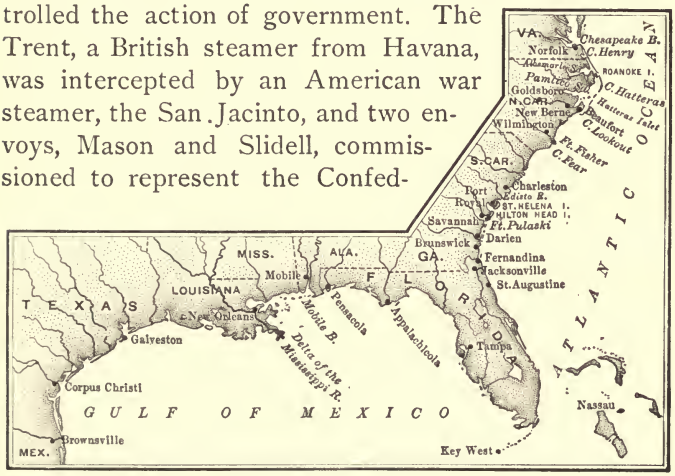
Blockade-running.

Stoppage of the American cotton supply was ruinous to British manufacturers, and a hostile feeling toward the United States prevailed generally in the business circles of Great Britain, as well as among the people of the aristocratic class; but the working people of the

English factories were steadfast in friendly sympathy with the American Republic through all the time of bitter suffering that the "cotton famine" brought upon them; and their feeling was due largely to the influence of a few men like John Bright.

"Cotton famine" in England.

One naval exploit, in November, 1861, might have caused war with England, if public feeling had controlled the action of government. The Trent, a British steamer from Havana, was intercepted by an American war steamer, the San Jacinto, and two envoys, Mason and Slidell, commissioned to represent the Confed-



THE BLOCKADED COAST.

eracy in England and France, were taken from her and brought as prisoners to Boston. The act was in violation of international law, and when the British government demanded the release of the captives, they were given up; but the country was angered by the threatening manner of the demand.

The effectiveness of the blockade was improved steadily, after the first few months of war, by the capture of advantageous footings on the southern coast.

Forts commanding Hatteras Inlet were taken in August, 1861; Port Royal, South Carolina, in November; Roanoke Island and New Berne in January, 1862, and the entrance to Savannah was sealed up in April by the reduction of Fort Pulaski, after a long siege.

Blockade strengthened.

315. First Breaks in the Confederate Line of Defence.[1] **February–April, 1862.** Army and navy worked together with great success in these undertakings; and so they were beginning to do on the rivers of the west, where fleets of small gunboats had been put afloat. The first real break in the Confederate line of defence was accomplished in February, 1862, when General Grant and Commodore Foote, moving up the Tennessee, captured Fort Henry, on that river, and then Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, with garrisons numbering 12,000 to 15,000 men. This opened the whole of western Tennessee to an advance. Grant moved up the Tennessee to Pittsburg Landing, near Shiloh, while General Buell came forward from Kentucky to Nashville, and thence, with a part of his army, to a junction with Grant. The Confederates had concentrated large forces at Corinth, Mississippi, under Albert S. Johnston and Beauregard, and Grant was nearly overwhelmed by an attack from them, April 6; but Buell reached him that night, and the Confederates were driven back the next day. The battle of Shiloh, fought fiercely for two days, was the deadliest engagement that had occurred, the losses in killed and wounded rising nearly to 10,000 on each side.

Forts Henry and Donelson.

Battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862.

One division of Buell's army, under General O. M. Mitchell, was marching southward from Nashville, at

[1] See Map XIII.

the same time, and reached Tuscumbia, in Alabama; but the position it gained was not held.

Opportunity for another break into the heart of the Confederacy had been opened in January by General George H. Thomas, who commanded, under Buell, in eastern Kentucky. Defeating the Confederates in a battle at Mill Spring, he cleared the way for an advance through Cumberland Gap into east Tennessee, where thousands of Unionists were watching eagerly for the old flag to reappear. President Lincoln had been urging such a movement from the first, but the opportunity gained by Thomas was allowed, for some reason, to go by.

Battle of Mill Spring, January 19, 1862.

After helping Grant to open the Tennessee and the Cumberland, Commodore Foote, with his gunboats, joined General John Pope in operations of great difficulty on the Mississippi, which resulted in the capture of strong fortifications at New Madrid (March 13) and Island No. 10 (April 7). Many prisoners were taken, and the navigation of the Mississippi was cleared for a long distance to the south. Meantime the Confederates had been forced from southwestern Missouri into Arkansas, by General Curtis, and defeated (March 5) in an important battle at Pea Ridge.

New Madrid and Island No. 10.

316. Inaction in Virginia. January–March, 1862. While progress was made by the Union arms in the west and on the coast, the Army of the Potomac, bigger and better appointed than any other, was still in camp. Its prolonged inaction was hurting the national cause, and, on the 27th of January, the President felt impelled to issue an order for "a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces" to be made on the

The President's order.

22d of February, with a special order that the Army of the Potomac be moved. In the west the appointed date was anticipated by General Grant. In Virginia, when the 22d of February arrived, the Confederate general, Johnston, was in motion, but the Union general, McClellan, was not. The former was evacuating Manassas, preparing to fall back behind the Rappahannock, lest the huge Potomac army should be launched against him. Two weeks later McClellan's columns were pushed out to Manassas and Centreville, where they found abandoned earthworks, partly furnished with painted wooden cannon — "Quaker guns," the soldiers called them — to make a show of armament where real artillery had been wanting.

Advance begun.

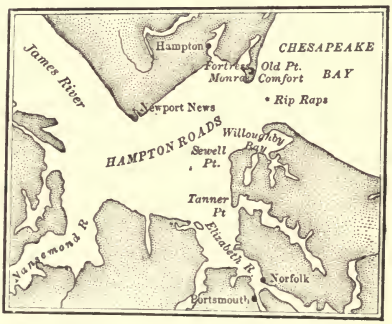
317. The Merrimac and the Monitor. March 9, 1862. An event of greater importance than the evacuation of Manassas had happened just then in Hampton Roads. Both parties in the war were building iron-clad ships. Such vessels had never, at that time, been tried in actual battle; though France and England had been experimenting with them for two years. The Confederates had raised a sunken steam frigate, the Merrimac, at Norfolk, and covered her with railroad iron; while the government of the United States had ordered an iron-clad vessel to be built on plans devised by John Ericsson, a Swedish-American engineer. Early in March, 1862, it was known that the Merrimac was about ready to come out of Norfolk, and great efforts were made to have her met by Ericsson's vessel, named the Monitor, when she appeared in Hampton Roads. On Saturday, March 8, the Merrimac steamed slowly out of Norfolk, and attacked the blockading squadron, of five wooden ships. Their broadsides were harmless to her, and she destroyed with ease

The Merrimac.

two sailing vessels, the Congress and the Cumberland. As the tide then was ebbing, the monster withdrew, to return next morning and complete her work. But that evening the Monitor came on the scene, — a queer, low-lying, flat float, carrying a revolving turret, in which were two heavy guns, — looking, as described at the time, "like a cheese-box on a raft." When the Merrimac reappeared, on the morning of the 9th, a battle occurred which revolutionized the naval warfare of the world. The Monitor was easily handled, and could plant her shots as she pleased; the Merrimac was unwieldy, and much at the mercy of her nimbler foe. Neither did much harm to the other; but the Confederate iron-clad retreated to Norfolk, and two months afterward, when the Confederates abandoned Norfolk, she was destroyed. There had been a panic in all the northern coast cities when they had the news of Saturday; the relief given them by Sunday's report was very great.

Sinking of the Congress and Cumberland.

The battle.



HAMPTON ROADS.

318. Work of Congress. 1861–1862. In Congress, during the session of 1861–62, important work was done. The financial situation, already desperate in the Confederacy, had become grave in the north. The banks, drained by heavy loans to the government, suspended specie payments in December, 1861, and for

Financial distress.

seventeen years from that time there was no monetary circulation of gold and silver coin. Expenditures of government had risen to $2,000,000 per day, and how to meet them was a question on which financial authorities were not agreed. The decision reached in Congress included one measure that had pernicious effects, and whether it was or was not necessary is disputed to this day. That measure is known as the "Legal Tender Act" (passed in February, 1862), which authorized an issue of $100,000,000 of treasury notes, bearing no interest, not redeemable in coin, but "legal tender" in payment of all debts. In other words, the law compelled creditors to accept them, and so gave them a circulation that was forced.[1] This was the beginning of a series of similar issues, which plunged the country into a long, costly experience of irredeemable, depreciated paper money, inflated prices, speculative business, and extravagant habits in public and private life.

The "Legal Tender Act."

Later in the session the tariff was revised again and duties raised, — a process repeated at every session of Congress till the end of the war, — while a searching system of internal taxation was devised.

Tariff.

In March, on the urgent recommendation of the President, Congress adopted a joint resolution to the effect that "the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid," and Mr. Lincoln made persevering efforts to persuade the border slave States to accept

Offer of compensated emancipation, March, 1862.

[1] By a decision of the Supreme Court in 1869 the legal tender acts were declared to be unconstitutional; but that decision was reversed in the following year.

such aid. At about the same time Congress added an article to the military code, forbidding officers to restore fugitive slaves to their masters. In April Congress took another step on the slavery question, by abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation, and with provision for colonizing any of the freedmen who wished to be settled in Hayti or Liberia.

Emancipation in the District of Columbia, April, 1862.

At this time the Confederate Congress was passing a conscription act, requiring military service from every able-bodied citizen between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five.

319. Opening of the "Peninsular Campaign" against Richmond.[1] **April–June, 1862.** When, at last, the Army of the Potomac took the field, the line of movement chosen by McClellan was by water to the foot of the peninsula between York and James rivers, thence to advance on Richmond, which had been the capital of the southern Confederacy since May, 1861. General McClellan was now relieved of the command of all forces except those in this "peninsular campaign." At the beginning of April, 1862, a large part of his army had been landed near Fortress Monroe, and the advance began on the 4th. Yorktown was held then by only 12,000 Confederates, but the fortifications were strong, and siege operations to reduce them consumed a month. When the siege guns were ready to open fire, the besieged withdrew (May 4), falling back to Williamsburg, where the van of the Union army suffered heavily in a battle fought next day. As the Confederates continued their retreat, the Army of the Potomac was pushed forward slowly to a line on the Chickahominy, seven to twelve miles from

Siege of Yorktown.

[1] See Map XII.

Richmond, which it reached on the 21st of May. Meantime the Confederates had evacuated Norfolk and destroyed the Merrimac, opening James River to a forward movement of Union gunboats and the Monitor, and they, too, went up to a point only eight miles from the threatened city.

Norfolk evacuated.

McClellan, whose army exceeded 100,000, with 73,000 opposed to him, thought nothing could be ventured without a larger force, and arrangements were made for sending McDowell to him, with a corps of 40,000, which had been held for the protection of Washington. But that plan was frustrated by an alarming raid into the Shenandoah valley, led by the Confederate general, Thomas J. Jackson (better known as "Stonewall" Jackson[1]), who made the beginning of his fame at this time. Jackson's brilliant exploit kept McDowell from joining McClellan.

"Stonewall" Jackson's raid.

320. Farragut's Capture of New Orleans and Opening of the Lower Mississippi. April–June, 1862. From the southwest, in these days, there was better news. A fleet of old wooden ships and gunboats, under Admiral Farragut, had run a gauntlet of forts on the lower Mississippi, destroyed or captured fifteen opposing vessels, including two clumsy iron-clads, and had taken the city of New Orleans (April 24). An army of 14,000 men, commanded by General Butler, had then been landed, the forts had been surrendered, and the city was entered by the Union troops on the 1st of May. A more brilliant naval achievement is hardly on record, and it gave the Confederacy a staggering blow.

Butler in New Orleans, May 1, 1862.

[1] A remark made by one of his fellow officers at Bull Run, that Jackson's command stood like a stone wall in the fight, gave him that name.

From New Orleans Farragut pressed on up the Mississippi (see Map XIII.), and every town on the river as far north as Vicksburg was surrendered to him in the course of the next two months. Vicksburg, on high bluffs, powerfully fortified, was not to be taken so easily; its capture became the grand problem of the war in the west.

Above Vicksburg the Confederates held no formidable position on the river. Movements of the Union army after the battle of Shiloh had expelled them from a stronghold named Fort Pillow. Then the Union gunboat flotilla (which Commodore Foote, disabled by a wound, had passed over to Commodore Davis), ran down to Memphis, destroyed nine Confederate gunboats in a sharp fight, and received the surrender of the town (June 6).

321. Failure of the "Peninsular Campaign." May–July, 1862. In McClellan's campaign a bloody battle, forced by the Confederates, was fought for two days, May 31 and June 1, with losses of 5000 or 6000 on each side. Two corps of the Union army, which had passed the Chickahominy, were nearly overwhelmed. In this battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, General Johnston, who had hitherto commanded the Confederate forces in Virginia, was disabled by a wound, and General Robert E. Lee took his place.

Battle of Fair Oaks, May 31–June 1, 1862.

Nearly a month went by after the battle of Fair Oaks before the armies in front of Richmond came to serious blows again, and then, as before, it was the Confederate general who attacked. Calling Stonewall Jackson from the Shenandoah, and leaving Richmond almost undefended, Lee boldly launched the main body of his army

Opening of the "Seven Days' Battles," June 26–27, 1862.

against a single corps (Fitz John Porter's) that guarded the road over which McClellan received his supplies. For two days (June 26–27), in battles at Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mill, Porter held his ground, and received no reinforcements till too late. Two brigades came to him on the evening of the 27th, in time to cover his retreat.

McClellan had now lost communication with his source of supplies, and must retreat, either down the peninsula or across to James River. He chose the latter, and all critics credit him with able management of the retreat. Lee followed him closely, and there were five more days of battle, principally at Savage Station, Glendale, and Malvern Hill, while the movement went on. At Malvern Hill Lee's army was repulsed with terrific loss, and the "Seven Days' Battles" ended with both armies in a shattered state.

End of the "Seven Days' Battles," July 1, 1862.

The peninsular campaign against Richmond had failed, and the country was profoundly depressed. On the 2d of July the President called for 300,000 more men. Faith in McClellan as a fighting soldier had long been waning, and now there was clamor for his removal; but his army was still devoted to him, and the President feared the effect of a change. It was determined, however, against McClellan's protest, that his army should return to the Potomac. General Halleck was called to Washington to serve as general-in-chief, and General Pope, who had shown energy on the Mississippi, was put in command of an "Army of Virginia," formed of all the Virginia forces except McClellan's men.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

297. Secession begun. — President Buchanan's Message. — Efforts at Compromise.

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1. Argument of Alexander H. Stephens against secession. McPherson, 20–26; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 164–169; Nicolay and Hay, iii. 266–275; Rhodes, iii. 207–212.

2. Action of South Carolina. 3. Position taken by President Buchanan. — His message approved by secessionists. Rhodes, iii. 114–125, 132–138, 196–206; Nicolay and Hay, ii. 303–314, 326–335, 358–371; iii. 1–16; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 74–89; Holst, *United States*, vii. ch. ix.; Nicolay, 16–20; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 182–187, 196–199.

4. Projects of compromise. — Crittenden's proposals. — Mr. Lincoln's position. Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 190–197, 201–203; Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. xxvi.–xxvii.; iii. ch. xiv., xvi., xviii.; Rhodes, iii. 146–179, 252–271; Holst, *United States*, vii. 353–378, 388–392, 407–424; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 96–100, 108–112; Blaine, i. 259–268; Storey, 184–194; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 193–195, 199–210; Lincoln, i. 657–660, 664, 668–669.

5. The first secession movement, by seven States. — Loyal opposition. Nicolay and Hay, iii. ch. xii.; Rhodes, iii. 206–214, 272–280; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 100–104; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 180–182, 188–189; J. Davis, i. 57–86, 199–226.

298. Surrender of Forts and National Property. — Loyalty at Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Seizure of national forts, arms, and arsenals in the seceding States. — Supineness of the government. Rhodes, iii. 126–132, 238–241; J. Davis, i. 209–220; Nicolay and Hay, ii. 315–326; Nicolay, 14–16; McPherson, 27–37; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 89–95.

2. Loyalty of Major Anderson, at Charleston. — His preparation to defend Fort Sumter. 3. Similar fidelity of Lieutenant Slemmer, at Pensacola. Nicolay and Hay, ii. ch. xx.–xxi., xxiii.–xxv., xxix.;

iii. ch. iii.–v., viii.–ix., xi.; Nicolay, 20–33, 38; Ropes, *Story*, i. 37–43; Rhodes, iii. 181–192, 216–236, 242–250, 280–285; Holst, *United States*, vii. 378–387; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 26–32, 40–46, 50–60.

299. A Loyal Cabinet secured.

Topics and References.

1. Changes in President Buchanan's cabinet. 2. Order telegraphed to New Orleans by Secretary Dix. Rhodes, iii. 186–187, 251–252, 286–287; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 198–201; Nicolay and Hay, ii. 391–399, iii. ch. vi., x.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 204.

3. Steamer Star of the West fired upon at Charleston. Ropes, *Story*, i. 45–48; Holst, *United States*, vii. 396–405; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 105–108; Nicolay and Hay, iii. ch. vii.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 172–175; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 60–62.

300. Secessionists withdrawn from Congress.

Topics and References.

1. Vacated seats. — Power given to the Republicans. 2. Kansas made a State. 3. The Morrill Tariff. 4. Organization of new Territories. 5. Constitutional Amendment recommended. Rhodes, iii. 271–272, 312–313, 315–316; Nicolay and Hay, iii. 234–237, 242–243; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 112–116.

301. Fruitless Peace Convention. — Organization of the Confederate States.

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1. The Peace Convention invited by Virginia. Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 124–129; Rhodes, iii. 290–291, 305–308; Nicolay and Hay, iii. ch. xiii.

2. Formation of the Confederate government. 3. Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens elected President and Vice-President. J. Davis, i. 229–243; Rhodes, iii. 291–296; Nicolay, 39–44; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 116–123; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 99–110; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 189–192.

Research. — The Confederate constitution compared with the Constitution of the United States. Rhodes, iii. 322–325; J. Davis, i. 648–672; McPherson, i. 91–104.

302. Inaugural Address of President Lincoln. — His Cabinet.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Duties and intentions stated by the President. 2. His appeal to his "dissatisfied countrymen." Lincoln, ii. 1–7; Nicolay and Hay, iii. ch. xxi.; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 65–66; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 227–228; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 141–145; Rhodes, iii. 316–318; Blaine, i. 282–283.

3. President Lincoln's cabinet. Nicolay and Hay, iii. ch. xxii.; vi. 223–224; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 67–77; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 234–238, 275–281; Lothrop, 231–233, 246–251; Hart, *Chase*, 202–208; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 293–295; Rhodes, iii. 319–320; Blaine, i. 283–286.

303. Fort Sumter attacked and taken.

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304. Loyal Uprising in the Country. — The President's Call for Troops. — Attack on a Massachusetts Regiment in Baltimore.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The north roused and united by the attack. — Stand taken by Senator Douglas. 2. The President's proclamation (text in Lincoln, ii. 34). Paris, i. ch. x.; Rhodes, iii. 357–359, 368, 372; Nicolay and Hay, iv. 76–87; Nicolay, 69–77; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 84–98; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 221–224, 230–239, 256–263, 307–309;

Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 251–254; Ropes, *Story*, i. 90–92; Blaine, i. 297–300.

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5. Call for volunteers and seamen (text in Lincoln, ii. 41–42). Rhodes, iii. 394–395; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 291.

305. Confederate Privateers. — Federal Blockade. — British Proclamation of Neutrality.

Topics and References.

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Topics and References.

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307. The Border Slave States. — Kentucky and Missouri held in the Union.

Topics and References.

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2. The wise course of President Lincoln which held Kentucky.

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308. The Opposing States and People in the War.

Topics and References.

1. Population of the 11 States of the Confederacy compared with the 23 of the Union. 2. Comparison of wealth, resources, and circumstances. 3. Military advantages of the Confederate States. Hart, *Practical Essays*, 258–298.

309. First Notable Victims of the War. — Slaves declared "Contraband."

Topics and References.

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310. McClellan in loyal West Virginia. — Its Secession from the Old Dominion.

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311. President Lincoln's First Message. — Action of Congress.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Influence of the President's message (text in Lincoln, ii. 55–66). 2. Unity of feeling and action in Congress. 3. Measures adopted. Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 291–298; Rhodes, iii. 437–442; Nicolay and Hay, iv. ch. xxi.; Burgess, *Civil War*, i. 226–233; Blaine, i. 332–347.

312. First Battle of Bull Run. — McClellan called to the Army of the Potomac.

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1. Union and Confederate armies near Washington. 2. Forward movement of the Union forces. 3. Failure of plans. — Rout of the Union army. 4. Recovery from the disaster. — General McClellan appointed commander-in-chief. Paris, i. 225–256; Ropes, *Story*, i. ch. ix.; Sherman, i. 205–219; Cooke, *Jackson*, 56–76; Coppée, *Thomas*, 31–35; Rhodes, iii. 437, 442–455; Nicolay, ch. xiii.–xvii.; Nicolay and Hay, iv. 314–319, 321–326, 341–369; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 167–261; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 309–314.

313. Important Commands and Commanders. — McClellan at the Head.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Appointment of Frémont in the West. 2. The situation in Missouri. — Death of Lyon. Nicolay and Hay, iv. ch. xxiii.; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 289–306; Paris, i. 326–338; Force, 4–7; Rhodes, iii. 468–469.

3. Grant's first important command. — His seizure of the mouth of the Tennessee. Grant, i. 211–217; Force, 18–19; Nicolay and Hay, v. 48–49.

4. Frémont's military administration. 5. His proclamation of emancipation, modified by the President. 6. Removal of Frémont. — Division of the western department. Lincoln, ii. 77–82, 85–87; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 278–288; Nicolay and Hay, iv. ch. xxiv.; Paris, i. 338–355; Rhodes, iii. 469–484; Burgess, *Civil War*, ii. 76–78.

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8. McClellan's army and his opponents. — Inaction in Virginia. Rhodes, iii. 490–496; Paris, i. 419–421; McClellan, ch. vi.–viii.; *Battles and Leaders*, ii. 112–122, 153–159; Ropes, *Story*, i. 169–183; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 303–317.

314. The Blockade. — Joint Military and Naval Operations.

Topics and References.

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3. The resulting "cotton famine" in England. Rhodes, iii. 502–515; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 296–298; Watts, ch. viii., xii.; Lincoln, ii. 301–302.

4. The Trent affair. — Capture of Mason and Slidell. Lothrop, ch. xviii.; Storey, ch. xiii.; Rhodes, iii. 520–543; Nicolay and Hay, v. ch. ii.; *Battles and Leaders*, ii. 135–142; Paris, i. 464–472; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 380–387; McPherson, 338–343; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 298–301.

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ch. v.–vii.; Nicolay and Hay, v. ch. xviii.; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 359–362; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 334–336.

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317. The Merrimac and the Monitor.

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1. Beginning of iron-clad ships of war. 2. The Confederate Merrimac. 3. Ericsson's Monitor. 4. Attack by the Merrimac on the blockading squadron in Hampton Roads. 5. Arrival of the Monitor and her combat with the Merrimac. 6. Ultimate fate of the Merrimac. Soley, 53–81; *Battles and Leaders*, i. 692–750; Nicolay and Hay, v. ch. xiii.; Morse, *Lincoln*, i. 356–357, ii. 48–49; Paris, i. 591–608; Rhodes, iii. 608–614; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 329–333; Ammen, ch. vi.

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320. Farragut's Capture of New Orleans and Opening of the Lower Mississippi.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

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321. Failure of the Peninsular Campaign.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks. 2. General Lee in command of the Confederate army. 3. Lee's attack and McClellan's retreat to the James. — The "Seven Days' Battles." Webb, ch. vi.–viii.; Paris, ii. 51–148; McClellan, ch. xxiii.–xxvii.; *Battles and Leaders*, ii. 178–187, 220–263, 313–438; Long, 156–160, and ch. x.; Cooke, *Jackson*, 200–249; Rhodes, iv. 23–54; Nicolay and Hay, v. 386–391, 413–454; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 58–64; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 338–342; Lincoln, ii. 189–202, 206.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

Its Second Period: Striking at Slavery. 1862–1865.

322. Preparing to Strike. July, 1862. If the north was downcast, it was not discouraged, and its feeling was taking a sterner tone. Congress, since December, had been debating proposals for a general confiscation of the property and liberation of the slaves of all persons in arms against the government, and now, on the 11th of July, it was persuaded to pass the act. This was as far as Congress seemed authorized to go; but the President was believed to be empowered to proclaim, as a war measure, the absolute emancipation of all slaves within the rebellious States, and he now felt called upon to exercise that power. With one firm conviction and one faithful purpose in his mind, he had taken guidance from events in his whole dealing with slavery, from the beginning of the war.[1]

Confiscation act.

[1] Two years later (April 4, 1864), writing of his action at this time, he described in a few words the course of thought and feeling which led him to decide that his official obligation to preserve the Constitution must be fulfilled by striking slavery down. "I am," he wrote, "naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the

Having arrived at a clear conviction of duty on the subject, President Lincoln prepared a proclamation of emancipation and submitted it to his cabinet on the 22d of July. All but Secretary Blair approved; but Secretary Seward advised

The Emancipation Proclamation prepared, July 22, 1862.

United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government — that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. . . . I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution, all together. When, early in the war, General Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying a strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter." Lincoln, *Writings*, ii. 508.

that the great mandate be withheld until the military situation had been changed by some important success. Lincoln thought the advice good, and the proclamation was laid aside to await a brighter day.

Meantime, though an unwarranted order of emancipation, issued by General David Hunter, at Hilton Head, S. C., on the 9th of May, had been rescinded by the President, General Hunter was permitted to begin organizing and arming the refugee colored men at Hilton Head, and henceforth negro soldiers were employed freely in the war.

Arming the blacks.

323. Lee's Crushing Defeat of Pope and Invasion of Maryland.[1] **August–September, 1862.** The brighter day was not near; the worst disasters were to come. Pope, preparing vigorously for a direct movement on Richmond, gave offence to his army by some unwise addresses and orders, and its feeling towards him was chilled. Lee, with his superior promptitude and daring, and Jackson, with the swift sureness of his sudden strokes, frustrated all the plans. While McClellan's army was coming in detachments from the James, to coöperate with Pope, the Confederates reached the rear of the latter's forces and broke them badly, in battles at Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run, August 28, 29, and 30, throwing them back on Washington in almost as disordered a state as after the first Bull Run.

Second battle of Bull Run.

There was panic in Washington again; but Lee did not venture to attack the fortifications of the city. Instead of doing so, he moved by way of Leesburg into Maryland, and met little of the welcome he expected there. Most wisely, in the circumstances, President Lincoln gave McClellan command of all the forces that

[1] See Map XII.

could be used against Lee, and that excellent organizer had them ready to start from Washington September 5. On the 14th he fought Lee at South Mountain, and on the 17th at Antietam. The battles were not decisive, but they brought the invasion to an end.

Battles of South Mountain and Antietam, September, 1862.

324. Emancipation proclaimed by President Lincoln. September–January, 1862–1863. The situation was far from satisfying, but it had brightened, and President Lincoln, on the 22d of September, issued his great proclamation, — his First Proclamation of Emancipation, — declaring that on the 1st day of January, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free." It will be proper to say now that at the appointed time, on the first day of 1863, the final proclamation was issued, declaring the freedom of all slaves in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (excepting thirteen designated parishes), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (excepting West Virginia, seven eastern counties, and the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth).

325. Dark Days. 1862–1863. Some people expected that an immediate uplifting of the national cause would follow the proclaiming of emancipation, but it did not come. There were months of sore trial to be gone through yet. When Lee was in Maryland, threatening Pennsylvania, another Confederate army, under Braxton Bragg (successor to Beauregard in the west), was in Kentucky, and Ohio was alarmed. Bragg's invasion fared no better than Lee's; he was defeated by Buell at Perryville (October 8), and fell back to Chattanooga. Grant's

Army of the Tennessee fought two battles with success, at Iuka, Miss., September 19, and at Corinth, October 3, 4, and 5 (see Map XIII.); but all the fighting of the time was defensive on the Union side, and seemed to show ill-management of the greater forces on that side.

Perryville, Iuka, Corinth, September-October, 1862.

Foreign governments had no belief that the seceding Confederacy would be overcome, and the French emperor, Napoleon III., already engaged in an undertaking of conquest in Mexico, hoped to persuade England to join him in intervening to stop the war. The British government, although controlled by the unfriendly classes, would not go to that length, but it did little to prevent the giving of private aid to the Confederate States. Confederate agents were permitted to fit out cruisers in British ports and send them to sea. One, named the Florida, was set afloat at Liverpool in March. In July the more formidable Alabama was allowed to sail from Liverpool, though proof of her character had been given to the authorities by the American consul at that port. The ships and cargoes destroyed by these and other commerce-destroyers of British build amounted to many millions of dollars in value, and a heavy claim for indemnity on account of them was brought against England when the war closed.

The French in Mexico.

The Florida and the Alabama.

In the northern States, the united feeling that sustained the government at the outbreak of the war had disappeared. Party lines were drawn strictly again. While many former Democrats had left their party and joined the Republicans, a larger body, known as "War Democrats," supported the war for the Union in principle, but were sharply critical of the management of it. These were bitter in condemnation of many measures of

the government, — especially its military suspensions of the writ of habeas corpus, and its arbitrary military arrests. A smaller section of the Democratic party, composed of people whom the Republicans described as "Copperheads," were open in opposition to the war, demanding that it be stopped, and avowing sympathy with the secession cause. The free speech of these latter was suppressed in many instances by military authority, and that proceeding became a principal cause of opposition to the government in the Democratic party at large. Such opposition, strengthened by a general sickening of mind over the military failures, and sharpened in some quarters by dislike of the emancipation proclamation, worked strongly against the government in the fall elections of 1862, and the Republican majority in the next Congress was much reduced.

Democratic opposition.

326. More National Reverses.[1] **December–May, 1862–1863.** After the battle of Antietam, Lee was allowed to retire slowly across the Potomac without being pursued, and dissatisfaction with McClellan revived. On the 5th of November he was removed, and General Ambrose E. Burnside, a good soldier and an admirable man, took his place. Under Burnside the army was moved to Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, and there, crossing the river (December 13), it assaulted the Confederates, who held fortified positions on the hills behind the town. The loss suffered was terrific, the repulse complete, and another disaster, worse than any before, was added to the painful record of the Army of the Potomac.

Repulse of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

In the west there was more success, though incomplete. Buell's command had been given to General Rosecrans, lately serving under Grant. In December

[1] See Maps XII. and XIII.

Bragg started on another movement northward, from Chattanooga, and was met at Stone River, near Murfreesboro, by Rosecrans. They fought on the last day of the year, and the Union army came near to a dreadful defeat. It was saved by the conspicuous ability and steadiness of General Thomas, who commanded a corps, and General Sheridan, who led a division under General McCook. The high quality of these soldiers began then to be understood.

Battle of Stone River, December 31, 1862.

Further west, in Grant's department, he and General William Tecumseh Sherman, his most trusted lieutenant and close friend, were beginning movements that aimed at the taking of Vicksburg.

On the 25th of January, 1863, General Burnside gave up the command of the Army of the Potomac, and it passed to General Joseph E. Hooker, whose fighting reputation as a corps commander raised great hopes. After staying in camp on the Rappahannock until April, the army started upon a movement which placed the main body at Chancellorsville, on the south side of the Rappahannock, and on the flank of Lee. There, on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of May, it fought another losing battle, and was forced to another disheartening retreat. The success of the Confederates was costly to them, for Stonewall Jackson fell, mortally wounded by a mistake of his own men.

Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1-3, 1863.

Even before this last reverse, the war spirit of the country had so ebbed, and enlistments had so fallen off, that Congress, in March, passed a conscription act, for the enrollment of all able-bodied male citizens between twenty and forty-five years of age, making them subject, when needed, to draft. Another important measure of the session created the

Conscription act, March, 1863.

existing system of national banks, which proved an invaluable aid to the government in managing its loans, and which has given the country many of the advantages, without the evils, of the single great national banking institution over which parties fought so long.

Notwithstanding the gloomy circumstances of the winter and spring of 1863, the vast sums of money required by the government were obtained with little difficulty; but the money of the time was the depreciated "legal tender" notes (called "greenbacks," from the color of the print on the back), and they doubled the cost of the war by doubling the price of everything bought. Great activity, largely speculative, prevailed in business, and many fortunes were made in these days.

327. Lee in Pennsylvania. — Gettysburg. — Vicksburg.[1] **July, 1863.** After Chancellorsville, Lee planned another attempt to carry the war into the northern States, and his army was set in motion on the 3d of June. Before the end of the month he had passed up the Shenandoah, crossed the Potomac, marched through Maryland, and was in Pennsylvania, with about 75,000 men. Hooker had followed, on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge, but had disagreements with Halleck, and asked, on the 27th of June, to be relieved. His request was complied with, and General George G. Meade, of the Fifth Corps, received the chief command. Four days later the two armies met at Gettysburg, in southern Pennsylvania, and fought, during three days, July 1, 2, and 3, the most terrific battle of the war. The killed and wounded of the Union army numbered more than 17,000 out of 93,000; those of the Confederate army exceeded 15,000 out of 70,000. The latter was more shattered than the

Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863.

[1] See Maps XII. and XIII.

former; its campaign of invasion was a failure, and Lee drew back in retreat. At last, a great victory for the Union had been won, and the country had the news of it on a memorable 4th of July.

How doubly memorable that 4th of July had been made was not known in the north until three days later, when news came from General Grant. He had taken Vicksburg on the morning of Independence Day, after more than five months of labor, battle, and siege. From the end of January till the middle of April he had struggled with difficulties created by the surrounding bayous and swamps, trying to put his army on high ground behind the place. At length, with the help of Admiral Porter, who ran a fleet of gunboats and transports past the Vicksburg batteries, the army was placed at a point below Vicksburg on the east side of the river, and fought its way to the position desired. Failing, on the 22d of May, to carry the works by assault, he opened a siege, which ended in the surrender of the place on the 4th of July.

The taking of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863.

On the 8th of July Port Hudson, a few miles above Baton Rouge, was surrendered to General Banks, whose forces, coöperating with Farragut's fleet, had been assailing its strong fortifications since the latter part of May. This was the last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi, and the great river was reopened throughout its length. The Confederacy was cut in twain; it lost the resources of the States west of the river, and the war in that region had little importance thereafter.

Surrender of Port Hudson, July 8, 1863.

328. Draft Riot in New York. July, 1863. Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and the reopening of the Mississippi revived confidence in the final success of the Union arms; but they were not permitted to raise the spirits

of the northern people to an exuberant height. The draft, just beginning to be enforced, was a dismal matter at the best, and it became an alarming one on the 13th of July, when the most ferocious and destructive riot that America has ever known broke out in the city of New York. For four days a wild mob fought militia and national troops, as well as the police, and was not suppressed until 1000, at least, are believed to have been killed.

329. Operations against Charleston. — Quiet in Virginia. April–September, 1863. Military and naval undertakings against Charleston were not having success. In April Admiral Dupont, with seven Ericsson monitors and two partially ironclad vessels, had attempted to enter the harbor and had been beaten off by the forts. Then a landing of forces on Morris Island, at the entrance to the harbor, was effected by General Gillmore, and on the 18th of July an assault on the Confederate Fort Wagner was repulsed with grievous loss. The storming party was headed by a regiment of colored soldiers, who fought bravely, and their colonel, Robert G. Shaw, of Massachusetts, was among the slain. Some weeks later, in September, after long bombardment, the Confederates evacuated Fort Wagner, and guns were mounted in it which

CHARLESTON HARBOR.

Assault on Fort Wagner, July 18, 1863.

threw shells into Charleston, doing much damage to the city and bringing blockade-running to an end.

After the battle of Gettysburg Lee was again permitted to make an undisturbed retreat into Virginia, and his army and Meade's were back, before the end of July, on nearly their old ground. During the next few months there were frustrated movements on both sides, with no severe fighting. Large forces were drawn from both armies in September to reinforce Rosecrans and Bragg in Tennessee, one led by Hooker, the other under Longstreet's command.

330. Critical Situation in Tennessee. — Grant to the Rescue.[1] **August–December, 1863.** The effort which President Lincoln had been urging since the war began, to occupy East Tennessee and liberate its loyal people, was about to be made. Burnside, transferred to eastern Kentucky, penetrated the valley which leads to Knoxville in August, and compelled the evacuation of that town. At about the same time, on the southern border of the State, Rosecrans forced Bragg out of Chattanooga and took possession (September 8) of what was considered the military key to the whole mountain region. Then, pursuing Bragg, he separated his forces unwisely, and paid dearly for the error on the 19th and 20th, when the Confederate general, reinforced by Longstreet, turned upon him and routed all but the left wing of his army, commanded by Thomas, which held its ground against heavy odds. Saved by Thomas, "the Rock of Chickamaugua," as he has been called, the army retreated from the bloody field of Chickamauga to Chattanooga, and was practically in a state of siege for the next two months.

Battle of Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863.

[1] See Map XIII.

Command of the Army of the Cumberland was now transferred from Rosecrans to Thomas; Sherman was appointed to the command of the Army of the Tennessee; and both, with the Department of Ohio, were united in one military division, under General Grant. Grant, reaching Chattanooga on the 23d of October, began preparations to extricate the Army of the Cumberland from its dangerous position. Reinforced by Hooker with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, and by Sherman with one corps from Memphis, his plans were carried out on the 24th and 25th of November with perfect success. Sherman drove the Confederates from a neighboring height, called Missionary Ridge, while Hooker cleared them from Lookout Mountain, in a battle fought above the low-lying clouds of a misty day. As a dramatic spectacle, these battles at Chattanooga were among the most remarkable ever fought. They had important results, including the complete deliverance of East Tennessee. Longstreet, sent against Burnside after the battle of Chickamauga, had shut the latter up in Knoxville, and that besieged town had been reduced to great distress. It was now relieved by Sherman; Longstreet retired, and East Tennessee was free.

Battles at Chattanooga, November 24-25, 1863.

East Tennessee delivered.

A sadly interesting incident of the later weeks of the year was the dedication, at Gettysburg, November 19, of a cemetery for the many dead of the great battle, and the speaking there of a few words of address by President Lincoln, which are immortal in their tender eloquence.

Lincoln's Gettysburg address, November 19, 1863.

331. Amnesty offered by President Lincoln. — His plan of "Reconstruction." December–July, 1863–1864. With his annual message to Congress, in De-

cember, the President issued a proclamation of amnesty, which opened doors for the return of both individuals and States to the Union fold. Excepting certain classes of leaders and special offenders, the proclamation offered full pardon, "with restoration of all rights of property except as to slaves," to every participant in the rebellion who would subscribe a given oath. The prescribed oath pledged fidelity to the Constitution and the Union, and support to what had been done by legislation and proclamation touching slavery, "so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void" by Congress or the Supreme Court. The proclamation then made known that whenever, in any State where rebellion had been prevailing, a number of qualified voters, not less than one tenth of the number of votes cast at the presidential election in 1860, should, after taking the prescribed oath, reëstablish a republican state government, conforming to the oath, such government would be recognized as the true government of the State; but the admission to Congress of senators and representatives from such State would depend on the action of Congress itself. This, said the President, "is intended to present . . . a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal state governments may be reëstablished" in the States designated; but "it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."

President Lincoln's plan of reconstruction.

At first the proclamation and its suggested plan of "reconstruction" for the States at war with the Union was received with general satisfaction in Congress, as it was in the Union at large. But a few radicals took exception to its leniency, and declared that Congress only could determine the mode of dealing with the seceded States. According to the radical view, the rebellion of

those States had wrought a forfeiture of all their constitutional rights; it had destroyed their status as States, and reduced them to that of Territories, or subjugated provinces, whenever their rebellion should be overcome. In this view the President's plan of restoration was too simple and too mild in its terms. It was a view that gained ground in Congress, until it brought about the passage of an act in the last hours of the session (July 4, 1864) which embodied a different plan. The act in question required that a majority of the white male citizens of a State in rebellion should take the prescribed oath before any "reconstruction" of state government could occur, and that the proceeding of reconstruction should be in one precisely defined mode. This would nullify action taken already under the President's proclamation in Louisiana and Arkansas, where state governments had been organized under constitutions which prohibited slavery forever. The bill came to the President an hour before Congress adjourned. He declined to sign it, but submitted it a few days later to the consideration of the people in a proclamation, saying: "While I am . . . unprepared, by a formal approval of this bill, to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration, and while I am also unprepared to declare that the free state constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana shall be set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens who have set up the same as to further effort, . . . nevertheless I am fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill, as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it." By taking this wise course President Lincoln avoided a mis-

Radical opposition.

Congressional plan of reconstruction.

President's proclamation.

chievous issue between Congress and himself. Public opinion sustained his policy and his action, and when his radical opponents, at the next session of Congress, attempted new legislation to undo his measures, they could carry it through neither House. These are facts to be remembered when the "reconstruction" conflicts of a later period, after Lincoln's death, come into view.

332. Grant made Lieutenant-General, in Chief Command. March, 1864. Since his notable success at Chattanooga, following that at Vicksburg, the hopes of the nation were fixed on Grant. An act of Congress in February, 1864, revived the rank of lieutenant-general, which none since Washington had held, and Grant was appointed to it on the 3d of March. He was called to the capital at once and assumed the general command, taking personal direction of operations in Virginia at the President's request. Sherman succeeded him in the western command. And now the war entered its final stage.

General Meade retained command of the army of the Potomac, but Grant was with it in the subsequent campaign. Burnside's corps was brought east again to join it, and Sheridan came to take command of the cavalry corps. Grant's plan was to move directly across country upon Richmond, through the wilderness in which Hooker met defeat, fighting his way, wearing his antagonist down; while a coöperating army under Butler (who had returned from New Orleans to Fortress Monroe) moved up the James, and another under Sigel held the Shenandoah and broke Lee's communications with the west. At the same time Sherman was to advance from Chattanooga upon Atlanta, engaging an army commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg; and General Banks, suc-

General Grant's plan.

cessor to Butler at New Orleans, was to move against Mobile. Sherman had about 100,000 men for his movement, against some 75,000; Grant started from the Rapidan with 122,000, and Lee had about 62,000; but the advantage of the Confederates in making a defensive fight, and in holding the inner line of every movement, was very great.

333. Grant's Movement on Richmond.[1] **May–June, 1864.** Grant crossed the Rapidan and opened the campaign on the 4th of May. No details of the dreadful month of battles that followed can be given in this place.

The Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, May, 1864.

Two days (May 6–7) of terrific fighting in the Wilderness; two more (May 10 and 12), and a week of less general fighting, at and near Spottsylvania Court House; a third hard encounter (May 23) on the North Anna River, with minor conflicts incessantly, brought what survived of the great Army of the Potomac to the vicinity of the Chickahominy (May 28), where McClellan had been two years before. There, on the 1st and 3d of June, the Confederate lines were attacked, at Cold Harbor, and nearly 10,000 killed and wounded were the cost of a vain assault. Almost if not quite 40,000 had fallen since the movement began, while the Confederate loss had been much less.

Cold Harbor, June 1 and 3, 1864.

Meantime, General Butler, moving up the James to attack Richmond, had been met by forces brought from the Carolinas by Beauregard, and had been driven to an intrenched position at Bermuda Hundred, where, as Grant expressed it, he was "bottled up." Most of his force was then drawn away to the Potomac army.

334. Sherman's Movement on Atlanta.[2] **May–July, 1864.** Three days after Grant set out from the Rapi-

[1] See Map XII. [2] See Map XIII.

dan Sherman moved against Johnston, who retreated before him. There was no serious engagement until May 25–28, at New Hope Church, after which, as Sherman relates, "not a day, not an hour, not a minute, was there a cessation of fire." "And thus matters continued until June 27," when a general assault was made on Johnston's lines at Kenesaw. Three days afterward Johnston resumed his retreat, and the next battle occurred at Peach Tree Creek, July 20; but Johnston had then been superseded by General Hood. Hood was driven into Atlanta with heavy loss, and a siege of the city was begun. Among those who fell on the Union side was General McPherson, who commanded Grant's and Sherman's old Army of the Tennessee, and who was rising to prominence among the best soldiers of the war.

New Hope Church, May, 25-28, 1864.

Kenesaw, June 27; Peach Tree Creek, July 20, 1864.

335. Grant before Petersburg. — Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley.[1] **June–October, 1864.** After the bloody repulse at Cold Harbor, Grant changed his base of supplies to the James, crossed the river, and moved against Petersburg, attempting to take that city, south of Richmond, by a sudden stroke, which failed. From that time (the middle of June) until nearly the ending of the war, the Army of the Potomac remained in front of Petersburg, not carrying on a regular siege, though its work was so called, but making attacks on the forces there and at Richmond, and on Lee's communications with the south.

The more active campaigning of the summer and fall was in the Shenandoah, where the Confederate commander, Early, overmatched the Union generals, Sigel, Hunter, and Cooke, and invaded Maryland and Penn-

[1] See Map XII.

sylvania in July, threatening Baltimore, and Washington itself. Troops from the Army of the Potomac were summoned hastily, and Sheridan was brought up to take command of a "Middle Military Division," embracing everything between Sherman's command and Meade's. Then a brilliant campaign in the Shenandoah valley was opened, and ran through a series of victories won by Sheridan, at Winchester, September 19, at Fisher's Hill on the 22d, at Cedar Creek, October 19. Sheridan was absent from the field when the last-named battle began, and made a famous ride of twenty miles to reach it, and to snatch victory from defeat. The result of the campaign was to clear the valley of the Confederates and to lay it waste from end to end.

Winchester, Fisher's Hill, Cedar Creek, September–October, 1864.

336. Naval Exploits, June–August, 1864. In this exciting summer of 1864 the navy had been doing important work. After a career of nearly two years, in which she had destroyed millions of dollars' worth of property, the Confederate cruiser Alabama was encountered (June 19) on the coast of France, near Cherbourg, by the United States steamer Kearsarge, and sunk in an engagement which lasted but an hour.

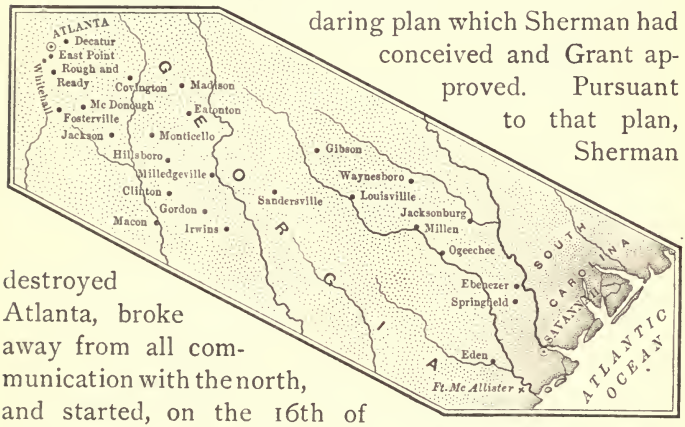
Sinking of the Alabama, June 19, 1864.

On the 5th of August Admiral Farragut almost surpassed his feat at New Orleans, by entering the harbor of Mobile with his fleet, destroying the Confederate naval force there and capturing the forts. The city itself was not occupied till a later time.

Farragut at Mobile, August 5, 1864.

337. Sherman's March to the Sea. September–December, 1864. Sherman's siege of Atlanta ended on the 2d of September, when Hood evacuated the town. Its few inhabitants were then removed, and it

was made exclusively a military post. Hood withdrew for a short distance only, and, early in October, he moved suddenly northward, pushing for the rear of Sherman's army; but Sherman was not disturbed. General Thomas, with a large force, had been sent back to Nashville, and Hood was left to his care. The northward raid was rather favorable to a daring plan which Sherman had conceived and Grant approved. Pursuant to that plan, Sherman destroyed Atlanta, broke away from all communication with the north, and started, on the 16th of November, with 60,000 veteran troops, on his memorable "march to the sea," foraging for subsistence as he went, and leaving a widely desolated track. On the 10th of December he reached Savannah; on the 20th the Confederates evacuated that town.



TRACK OF SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.

Hood's army meantime had been shattered in two battles (see Map XIII.), first at Franklin, where he fought with General Schofield (November 30), and then at Nashville, where General Thomas, in two days of hard fighting (December 15–16), completed his defeat. A remnant only of his force fell back through Tennessee. **Hood's defeat.**

338. Reëlection of President Lincoln. November,

1864. In the midst of these exciting events, which portended the exhaustion of the Confederacy, President Lincoln, in November, was reëlected by a large majority over General McClellan, the Democratic nominee. Republican radicals had opposed the nomination of Lincoln, making Chase and Frémont rival candidates; but the larger body of the people had faith in the great man whom they affectionately called "Father Abraham" and "Old Abe."

Mr. Chase, after many disagreements with the President, had resigned the Treasury Department in the previous June. In the following December he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, succeeding Chief Justice Taney, who died October 12.

339. Peace Conferences. Sherman moving northward. — Work of Congress. July–March, 1864–1865. Twice in July there had been unofficial peace conferences with Confederate officials by Horace Greeley, of the "New York Tribune," at Niagara Falls, and by two adventurous gentlemen who went to Richmond and interviewed President Davis in person. The only result had been to show that, without disunion, no peace could be made.

Fresh successes to the Union arms came early in the new year. Fort Fisher, at Wilmington, N. C., was taken on the 15th of January by military forces under General Terry, with the help of Admiral Porter's fleet. On the 1st of February Sherman started northward from Savannah, on another bold march through hostile country, with no base of supplies. His movement would isolate Charleston, and it was evacuated by the Confederates on the 17th. On the 22d of February Wilmington was

Fort Fisher, January 15, 1865.

Charleston evacuated, February 17, 1865.

occupied by troops from the west under General Schofield, and General Cox moved soon afterward from New-

TRACK OF SHERMAN'S MARCH NORTHWARD FROM SAVANNAH.

berne with forces to meet Sherman at Goldsboro, where the latter arrived on the 22d of March.

In these months Congress had been doing notable work. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which prohibits slavery forever, was adopted by the House of Representatives on the last day of January, having passed the Senate at the previous session, and it went then for ratification to the legislatures of the States.[1]

Thirteenth Amendment.

[1] Already, before this action in Congress, Maryland and Missouri, the former by popular vote on a new constitution (October 12–13, 1864), the latter by ordinance of a constitutional convention (Jan-

Both houses passed an act to free the wives and children of persons mustered into the service of the United States, — all negro soldiers having been declared free long before. Another act established what was named the Freedmen's Bureau, for the care and protection of the liberated blacks, and for the relief of impoverished white refugees in the south.

Renewed efforts to bring about some negotiation of peace were being made at this time by unofficial persons, and the President was persuaded by them to meet Vice-President Stephens of the Confederacy and two others (February 3), for conference, on a steamer at Fortress Monroe. The meeting, in which Secretary Seward took part, had no result.

Renewed efforts for peace.

On the 4th of March Mr. Lincoln entered on the second term of his presidency, and delivered an inaugural address in which, as Mr. Carl Schurz has said, "he poured out the whole devotion and tenderness of his great soul. It had all the solemnity of a father's last admonition and blessing to his children before he lay down to die." "No American President," continues Mr. Schurz, "had ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had a President who found such words in the depth of his heart."

President Lincoln's second inaugural.

340. The Ending of the War.[1] **March–May, 1865.** Military events now moved rapidly toward the inevitable end of the exhausted Confederacy. Early in March Davis and Lee had determined to abandon Richmond, and they waited only for some drying of impassable

uary 6, 1865), had abolished slavery. Two States reconstructed under President Lincoln's proclamation, Arkansas and Louisiana, had done the same; Tennessee followed in February, 1865.

[1] See Map XII.

roads before beginning a southwestward retreat. Grant anticipated their intention, and began a preventive movement on the 29th of March, with Sheridan (who had rejoined him ten days before) in advance. At Five Forks, on the 1st of April, Sheridan broke Lee's line of defence, and exposed the works at Petersburg to an assault by which part of them were carried the next day. Both Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated that night, and nearly a third of the latter city was destroyed by a fire which started from the burning of public stores. With all that remained of his army, about 30,000 men, Lee began a retreat. Grant pursued with more than twice the number, and there was no escape. At Appomattox Court House, on the 9th of April, Lee gave up the attempt, and surrendered the remnant of his little force. He and his worn veterans could yield with no shame, for they had fought against tremendous odds as stubbornly, as bravely, and as skilfully as any army in the history of the world. It is a satisfaction to know that the terms of surrender were made generous by Grant.

Five Forks, April 1, 1865.

Lee's surrender, April 9, 1865.

The surrender of General Lee was practically the ending of the war. General Johnston surrendered his forces on the 26th of April; President Davis was taken prisoner in Georgia on the 11th of May, and when that month closed there were no Confederates in arms.

End of the war, May, 1865.

341. Last Speech of Lincoln. — His Views of "Reconstruction" Policy. April 11, 1865. President Lincoln was with General Grant, at City Point, when Richmond was given up, and he visited the stricken city twice. On the 9th of April he returned to Washington, and on the 11th, responding to a serenade at

the White House, he made his last public speech. He spoke on the subject of the restoration or reconstruction of the States lately rebellious, reviewing the practical steps he had taken, and showing in his clear, plain way how useless and mischievous it would be to go into disputes as to "whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it." "We all agree," he said, "that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad."[1] Alluding to the question of the suffrage for freedmen he said: "I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers;" indicating that he would think it unwise to make a sudden gift of the ballot to the whole mass of emancipated slaves.

On the 12th an order was issued to stop drafting, recruiting, and the purchase of military supplies.

342. The Murder of President Lincoln. April 14, 1865. The 14th of April brought the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter to Beauregard, and an impressive ceremony was performed at Charleston, in the ruins of the fort, that day. The flag lowered four years before was formally raised by General Anderson, and Henry Ward Beecher delivered an address.

[1] The Supreme Court, in a case (Texas *vs.* White) that came before it in 1872, decided that the seceded States were never out of the Union.

At Washington the memorable day was more memorably closed, and made an anniversary of national grief and horror for all time. That evening the careworn President sought an hour of relaxation by attending the theatre with his wife and a party of friends. As he sat in his box watching the play, an assassin, who had prepared for the opportunity, stole into the box from behind and shot him, leaping instantly to the stage and escaping before any one could realize what he had done. His bullet had entered the brain of the wisest and noblest man of his time, and extinguished consciousness, but not life. Borne to a neighboring house, the murdered President breathed until early morning, and then passed away. The feeling of the country that morning when the awful news burst upon it cannot be described. It seemed at the first shock as though chaos had come, — as though everything had been lost.

With the news of the murder of the President came intelligence of an attempt on the life of Secretary Seward, made at the same hour. Mr. Seward had been thrown from his carriage a few days before, and had received injuries that confined him to his bed. A man pretending to have been sent by his physician obtained access to his chamber and stabbed him three times, but not fatally, in the neck and cheek. Two sons of the Secretary and a nurse were wounded seriously in a struggle, unarmed, with the assassin, and he, too, escaped.

Attempt to murder Mr. Seward.

The President's murderer proved to be a well-known actor, John Wilkes Booth. He was tracked in his flight from the theatre and found, on the 25th of April, in a barn, near Fredericksburg, Va. Refusing to surrender, he was shot. The attempt

John Wilkes Booth.

to kill Mr. Seward had been made by one Lewis Powell, alias Payne, from Florida, who had acted in concert with Booth. A third confederate, George Atzerodt, was to have killed the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, but failed to perform his part. The three were found to have belonged to a small band of conspirators, of which Booth was the leader, and which met at the house of a Mrs. Surratt. Their original plot was for kidnapping the President and taking him to Richmond; but when the rebellion collapsed, Booth ordered an undertaking of murder, and his confederates obeyed. Except a son of Mrs. Surratt, who escaped from the country, all were captured, and tried and convicted by a military court. Payne, Atzerodt, Mrs. Surratt, and a fourth, named Herold, were hanged; several others were imprisoned. Surratt, who escaped, was caught two years afterward in Egypt and brought to trial; but the jury in his case disagreed.

The plot revealed.

The fear awakened in many minds, that a desperate, widespread conspiracy of defeated Confederates had been formed to destroy the heads of national authority, was proved very soon to have no ground. The first desire of many, for stern dealing with the leaders of the defeated Confederacy, on charges of high treason, yielded to wiser counsels, and no political prosecutions occurred. Mr. Davis was imprisoned at Fortress Monroe for two years, then admitted to bail, and shared in a general amnesty, proclaimed finally in December, 1868.

Jefferson Davis.

343. Statistics of the War. The most stupendous of civil wars was at an end. More than 3,000,000 men had been enlisted in its armies, from first to last, 2,200,000 under the national flag, 1,000,000 under that of the Confederacy. Of those who fought for the

Union, 360,000 had given their lives to the cause, 110,000 in battle, or from wounds received in battle, 224,000 from disease, and the remainder from accidents and other causes of various kinds. On the other side the deaths from all causes are estimated to have numbered 250,000 or 300,000. In the four years of war there were 2265 engagements, large and small, in 330 of which the Union loss exceeded 100 men.

Armies, battles, deaths, wounds.

The navy, insignificant when the war began, had grown to 700 ships when it closed, and 75 of them were iron-clad. The Confederates had put 11 cruisers afloat, and the property they had destroyed was reckoned at nearly $18,000,000.

The navies.

The money cost of the war to the government was $3,250,000,000, and it left a national debt of $2,808,549,000. The Confederate expenditure was about $1,500,000,000. Of the value of property destroyed in the war, no estimate can be made.

Money cost.

The great armies of the Union had been created with such speed that 60,000 and 80,000 men were sometimes put into the field in single months. Even more rapidly they were dissolved. By the middle of November, 1865, 800,000 men had been mustered from service and returned to their homes. Before the dissolution of the two principal armies, the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Sherman, they were marched through Washington, on two successive days (May 23–24), passing in review before the President, affording a military spectacle of grand impressiveness, but such as this country will be happy if it has no opportunity to witness again.

Dissolution of the armies.

Of Confederate soldiery, 174,000 were formally surrendered at the close of the war, and 63,000 in the

camps of the prisoners of war were set free. There is no account of the many who went from the lost field to their homes without formal leave.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

322. Preparing to strike at Slavery.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Confiscation and liberation act of Congress. Nicolay and Hay, vi. 97–108; Burgess, *Civil War*, ii. 75–76; McPherson, 196–198.

2. The President's power to emancipate slaves as a war measure. Whiting, ch. iii.

3. Lincoln's conviction of duty regarding the use of his power to strike down slavery. 4. His proclamation of emancipation prepared. 5. Reasons for deferring it. Lincoln, ii. 508–509, 227–228, 396–399, 479–480; Carpenter, 20–24; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 397–402; Hart, *Chase*, 264–269; Nicolay and Hay, vi. ch. vi.; Tarbell, ii. 113–120; Rhodes, iv. 67–76; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 78–86; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 99–116; Blaine, i. 435–440; Burgess, *Civil War*, ii. 72–75, 84–87.

6. The forming of negro regiments. Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 15–18; Nicolay and Hay, vi. ch. xx.

323. Lee's Crushing Defeat of Pope and Invasion of Maryland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Pope's plans frustrated. 2. His army driven back to Washington. Ropes, *Pope*, ch. i.–xiii.; Paris, ii. 250–303; Long, ch. xi.; Cooke, *Jackson*, 249–307; McClellan, ch. xxx.–xxxi.; Rhodes, iv. 113–134; Nicolay and Hay, vi. ch. i.; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 73–80; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 342–346.

3. Lee's invasion of Maryland. 4. McClellan against Lee in Maryland. — End of the invasion. Palfrey, ch. i.–iii.; Long, ch. xii.; McClellan, ch. xxxii.–xl.; Paris, ii. 303–359; Cooke, *Jackson*, 307–348; Rhodes, iv. 134–156; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 80–92; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 346–351; Nicolay and Hay, vi. 20–29, 131–146; Lincoln, ii. 244, 245–246, 249–252.

324. Emancipation proclaimed by President Lincoln.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. First proclamation, September 22, 1862 (text in Lincoln, ii. 237–238). 2. Second proclamation, January 1, 1863 (text in Lincoln, ii. 285, 287–288). Nicolay and Hay, vi. ch. viii., xix.; Tarbell, ii. 120–126; Burgess, *Civil War*, ii. 97–101; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 116–121, 130–133; McPherson, 227–233; Hart, *Chase*, 270–271; Rhodes, iv. 157–163.

325. Dark Days.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Bragg in Kentucky. — His defeat at Perryville. Coppée, 78–88; Paris, ii. 360–395; Cist, ch. v.; Rhodes, iv. 173–181; *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 1–69, 600–609; Nicolay and Hay, vi. ch. xiii.

2. Battles of Grant's army. *Battles and Leaders*, ii. 717–759; Grant, i. 325–350; Sherman, i. 287–292; F. V. Greene, *The Mississippi*, ch. ii.; Cist, ch. vi.; Paris, ii. 396–417.

3. Views of foreign governments. 4. The French in Mexico. 5. The Confederacy favored by the British government. 6. The Alabama and other "commerce-destroyers." Nicolay and Hay, vi. ch. ii.–iv.; Rhodes, iv. 76–95, 337–394; McPherson, 348–354; Lothrop, 376–394; Burgess, *Civil War*, ii. 288–311; J. Davis, ii. 245–252; Soley, ch. vii.

7. Party opposition in the north. 8. "War Democrats" and "Copperheads." 9. Military arrests and interference with free speech. Rhodes, iv. 224–226, 163–172, 245–255; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 95–99, 183–194; Nicolay and Hay, vii. ch. xii.; Paris, iii. 404–406, 418–420; ii. 678–684; Burgess, i. 232–236; ii. 214–219, 222–223; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 109–112; Blaine, i. 488–493; McPherson, 152–194; Lincoln, ii. 123–125, 239, 345–352, 360–363, 406–407, 541–543.

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RESEARCH. — Disloyal secret societies and conspiracies in the north, and plots by Confederate agents in Canada. McPherson, 445–454; Nicolay and Hay, viii. ch. i.

326. More National Reverses.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Burnside's repulse at Fredericksburg. Palfrey, ch. iv.; Paris, ii. 559–605; Rhodes, iv. 184–202; *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 70–142; Long, ch. xiii.; Cooke, *Jackson*, 365–388; Nicolay and Hay, vi. ch. ix.–x.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 351–356.

2. Battle of Stone River. Cist, ch. viii.; *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 613–634; Paris, ii. 498–535; Coppée, 89–117.

3. Grant and Sherman preparing to attack Vicksburg. Grant, i. ch. xxx.; Sherman, i. 307–331; F. V. Greene, *The Mississippi*, ch. iii.; Paris, ii. 443–472; Mahan, *The Gulf*, 114–169.

4. Hooker's defeat at Chancellorsville. Paris, iii. 1–123; Doubleday, 1–84; Nicolay and Hay, vii. ch. iv.; Long, ch. xiv.; Cooke, *Jackson*, 397–464; *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 152–233; Rhodes, iv. 256–267; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 359–363; Lincoln, ii. 306–307, 322, 336–337.

5. Passage of a conscription act. 6. Creation of the national bank system. 7. Effect of the "greenback currency" on the cost of the war. Rhodes, iv. 236–239; Nicolay and Hay, vi. 240–247, vii. 3–16; Paris, iii. 407–416; Hart, *Chase*, 274–283; Blaine, i. ch. xxii.; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 194–198.

327. Lee in Pennsylvania. — Gettysburg. — Vicksburg.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Lee's second campaign of invasion. 2. Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac. 3. Battle of Gettysburg and retreat of Lee. *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 244–433; Doubleday, 87–210; Paris, iii. 451–694; Nicolay and Hay, vii. ch. viii.–ix.; Long, ch. xv.; Rhodes, iv. 268–297; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 143–152; Lincoln, ii. 368–369; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 372–376.

4. The doubly memorable 4th of July. 5. The taking of Vicksburg by Grant. 6. Surrender of Port Hudson to Banks. 7. The Mississippi reopened throughout. *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 462–598; F. V. Greene, *The Mississippi*, ch. iv.–viii.; Paris, iii. 178–402; Rhodes, iv. 299–319; Grant, i. ch. xxxi.–xxxviii.; Sherman, i. ch. xiii.; Lincoln, ii. 366–368; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 157–163; Nicolay and Hay, vii. ch. vi.–vii., ch. x.

328. Draft Riot in New York.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Four days of terror in the city of New York. Rhodes, iv. 320–332; Nicolay and Hay, vii. 16–26; Paris, iv. 2–7; Lincoln, ii. 381–382; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 376–381.

329. Operations against Charleston. — Quiet in Virginia.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Admiral Dupont's repulse from Charleston harbor. 2. Landing on Morris Island. — Assault on Fort Wagner. 3. Final evacuation of Fort Wagner. 4. Bombardment of Charleston. *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 1–74; Ammen, ch. v., vii.; Nicolay and Hay, vii. ch. iii., xv.; Paris, iii. 141–165, 349–380; Rhodes, iv. 332–336.

5. Ineffectual campaigning in Virginia. Paris, iii. 695–828; Long, ch. xvi.; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 81–96; Nicolay and Hay, viii. ch. ix.

330. Critical Situation in Tennessee. — Grant to the Rescue.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Burnside reaches Knoxville. J. D. Cox, *Atlanta*, ch. ii.; Paris, iv. 45–53; Nicolay and Hay, viii. 158–170.

2. Rosecrans in Chattanooga. 3. Battle of Chickamauga and the result. — Rosecrans besieged in Chattanooga. Cist, ch. ix.–xii.; Coppée, 118–164; *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 635–671; Grant, i. ch. xl.; Paris, iv. 53–192; Nicolay and Hay, viii. ch. iii.–iv.; Rhodes, iv. 395–401; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 163–166; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 381–386.

4. The shifting of western generals. — Grant's enlarged command. 5. Grant's operations at Chattanooga. — Battles of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain. 6. Defeat of Bragg and Longstreet. — Deliverance of East Tennessee. Paris, iv. 193–330; Grant, i. ch. xl.–xlii.; ii. ch. i.–iii.; Sherman, i. 374–396; *Battles and Leaders*, iii. 676–751; Cist, ch. xiii.–xiv.; Coppée, 165–198; Nicolay and Hay, viii. 121–157, 170–188.

7. President Lincoln's Gettysburg address. Lincoln, ii. 439; Nicolay and Hay, viii. ch. vii.; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 214–216; Rhodes, iv. 297–298.

331. Amnesty offered by President Lincoln. — His "Reconstruction" Plan.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Terms of the President's proclamation (text in Lincoln, ii. 442–444). 2. His plans for the reëstablishment of loyal state governments. 3. Congressional view of it. — Radical objections. 4. The radical theory. 5. Reconstruction act of Congress. — Not signed by the President. 6. His proclamation submitting it to the country (text in Lincoln, ii. 545). 7. His policy sustained by public opinion. Lincoln, ii. 454–456, 504–505; Nicolay and Hay, ix. 104–127, 448–456; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 217–237, 295–298; Blaine, ii. 37–46; Storey, 282–289; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 95–96.

RESEARCH. — Reconstruction proceedings in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee, under President Lincoln's proclamation; and proceedings to abolish slavery in Maryland and Missouri. Nicolay and Hay, viii. ch. xvi.–xx.

332. Grant made Lieutenant-General, in Chief Command.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The revived rank. 2. Grant in general command, with personal direction in Virginia. 3. Sherman in the western command. 4. Meade leading the Army of the Potomac. 5. Sheridan as cavalry commander. 6. The general plan of campaign. 7. Strength of the main armies. Humphreys, ch. i.; Nicolay and Hay, viii. 326–357; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 97–117; Grant, ii. 44–62; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 277–279; Rhodes, iv. 433–439; J. D. Cox, *Atlanta*, ch. iii.

333. Grant's Movement on Richmond.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Battles from the Rapidan to the Chickahominy. 2. Repulse at Cold Harbor. 3. General Butler's movement. Grant, ii. ch. vi., viii.–xiii.; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 118–246; Humphreys, ch. ii.–vi.; Long, ch. xvii.; Nicolay and Hay, viii. ch. xiv.–xv.; Rhodes, iv. 440–448; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 279–282; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 412–415.

334. Sherman's Movement on Atlanta.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Battles of the campaign. — Siege of Atlanta. — Death of General McPherson. Sherman, ii. ch. xvi.–xviii.; J. D. Cox, *Atlanta*, ch. iv.–xiv.; Grant, ii. ch. vii.; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 250–344; Nicolay and Hay, ix. ch. i., xii.; Rhodes, iv. 448–456, 511–513.

335. Grant before Petersburg. — Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Operations of the Army of the Potomac. Grant, ii. 174–204; Humphreys, ch. vii.–xii.; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 533–589; Long, 369–401.

2. General Early in the Shenandoah and invading Maryland. 3. Sheridan's campaign against Early. — The valley laid waste. Pond, ch. iv.–xiv.; Grant, ii. 204–224; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 492–530; Long, ch. xviii.; Nicolay and Hay, ix. ch. vii., xiii.–xiv.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 422–427; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 282–286.

336. Naval Exploits.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Destruction of the Alabama. Soley, 205–213; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 600–625; Nicolay and Hay, ix. 142–157; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 416–418.

2. Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay. Mahan, *The Gulf*, ch. viii.; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 379–411; Nicolay and Hay, ix. ch. x.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 418–421.

RESEARCH. — The daring exploit of Lieutenant Cushing in destroying the Confederate ram Albemarle, at Plymouth, N. C., October 27, 1864. *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 634–642; Soley, 97–105.

337. Sherman's March to the Sea.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The fate of Atlanta. 2. Hood's raid northward. 3. Sherman's march to Savannah. Sherman, ii. ch. xix.–xxi.; J. D. Cox, *Atlanta*, ch. xv.–xvii.; J. D. Cox, *March to the Sea*, ch. i.–iii.

Battles and Leaders, iv. 663–680; Grant, ii. ch. xvii.; Nicolay and Hay, ix. ch. xx.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 428–432.

4. Shattering of Hood's army in Tennessee. J. D. Cox, *March to the Sea*, ch. iv.–vii.; Grant, ii. ch. xviii.; Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. i.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 432–436.

338. Reëlection of President Lincoln.

Topics and References.

1. President Lincoln's large majority over McClellan. 2. Radical Republican opposition to Lincoln. Rhodes, iv. 456–470, 475–487, 517–539; Blaine, i. ch. xxiv.; Tarbell, ii. ch. xxviii.; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 286–295; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 96–102; Nicolay and Hay, viii. ch. xii.; ix. ch. ii.–v., xi., xvi.; Hart, *Chase*, 307–312; Lincoln, ii. 594–596.

339. Peace Conferences. — Sherman moving northward. — Work of Congress.

Topics and References.

1. Efforts for peace. Nicolay and Hay, ix. ch. viii.–ix.; Rhodes, iv. 513–515.

2. Union successes. — Capture of Fort Fisher. — Sherman in motion again. — Evacuation of Charleston. Sherman, ii. ch. xxii.–xxiii.; Grant, ii. ch. xix.–xx; J. D. Cox, *March to the Sea*, ch. viii.–xi.; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 642–661, 683–705; Ammen, 215–244: Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. iii.

3. Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment. Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 316–328; Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. iv.; Blaine, i. 504–507; Lincoln, ii. 633–634; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 465–467.

4. The Freedmen's Bureau. Barnes, ch. v.–viii., xii.; Williams, ii. pt. 8, ch. xxi.–xxii.; Herbert, ch. i.

5. President Lincoln's meeting with Vice-President Stephens. Lincoln, ii. 640–651; Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. v.–vi.; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 302–311.

6. President Lincoln's second inaugural address (text in Lincoln, ii. 656–657). Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. vii.; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 311–315; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 103–104.

340. The Ending of the War.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Lee and Davis preparing for retreat. 2. Lee's line of defences broken by Sheridan. 3. Evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond. 4. Lee's retreat and Grant's pursuit. — The surrender at Appomattox Court House. Grant, ii. ch. xxii.–xxv.; Long, 402–427; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 705–753; Humphreys, ch. xiii.–xiv.; Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. viii.–xi.; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 329–340; J. Davis, ii. 661–678; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 437–444.

5. Johnston's surrender. — Capture of Jefferson Davis. — End of the war. Sherman, ii. 342–373; Grant, ii. ch. xxvi.; J. Davis, ii. 678–705; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 754–767; J. D. Cox, *March to the Sea*, ch. xiii.; Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. xii.–xiii., xvii.

341. Last Speech of Lincoln. — His Views of Reconstruction Policy.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The President's visits to Richmond. 2. His speech at Washington, April 11. 3. His treatment of the question whether the seceded States are in or out of the Union. 4. His opinion as to giving the suffrage to the freedmen. Lincoln, ii. 672–675; Nicolay and Hay, ix. 456–463; Blaine, ii. 46–50; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 462–464.

342. The Murder of President Lincoln.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter. 2. The murder of the President that evening. 3. Attempt on the life of Secretary Seward. 4. Pursuit, discovery, and death of the President's murderer. 5. The plot and the plotters of the crime. — Their fate. Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. xiv.–xv.; Tarbell, ii. 232–244; Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 342–354.

6. No political prosecutions after the war. 7. Imprisonment, release, and amnesty of Jefferson Davis. Hart, *Chase*, 351–354; Nicolay and Hay, x. 274–276.

RESEARCH. — Estimates of Lincoln. Morse, *Lincoln*, ii. 355–358; Nicolay and Hay, x. ch. xviii.; Schurz, *Lincoln*, 115–117.

343. Statistics of the War.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Number of men in arms. 2. Death-roll of the war. 3. Number of battles, large and small. 4. Federal navy of the war. 5. Confederate cruisers and their work. 6. Money cost of the war. 7. Creation and dissolution of armies. Blaine, i. 549–562, ii. 27–33; Nicolay and Hay, x. 329–330, 335–340; Phisterer, 62–219; *Battles and Leaders*, iv. 767–768; Grant, ii. 351–355.

8. Grand final review at Washington. Grant, ii. 378–380; Sherman, ii. 375–380; Blaine, ii. 18–21; Nicolay and Hay, x. 330–335.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE RESTORED UNION. 1865–1880.

344. Vice-President Andrew Johnson becomes President. — His Conflict with Congress. April–December, 1865. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, elected Vice-President in 1864, took the oath of office as President on the morning of April 15, 1865. He had been a senator from Tennessee when that State joined the Confederacy, but refused to recognize the secession, and kept his senatorial seat to the end of his term. After Nashville was occupied by the national forces, in 1862, he was appointed military governor of the State. As a loyal southerner, the Republicans thought it good policy to make him Vice-President, though his political opinions had been those of a Democrat, and opposed on some points to their own. There was now a situation like that which occurred when Vice-President Tyler became President, and the result was much the same.

Loyalty of Andrew Johnson, 1861-1865.

President Johnson retained the cabinet of his predecessor, and took up the work of reconstructing governments in the lately rebellious States on substantially the lines that President Lincoln had laid down. On the 29th of May he issued a proclamation of amnesty and pardon, differing little from Lincoln's except in additions to the list of excluded classes. On the same day he issued the first of a series of proclamations which appointed provisional governors to conduct the prescribed

process of reconstruction in the several States. The work was in progress everywhere by the middle of July, and before Congress came together, in December, all the States except Texas had adopted constitutions prohibiting slavery, had organized state governments, and nine of them had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States (see sect. **339**). Without some of these ratifications, that national prohibition of slavery could not have acquired force.[1]

The President's Reconstruction measures, 1865.

In several of the States thus reconstructed, the legislatures had proceeded immediately to pass laws for regulating the labor of the freed negroes, with provisions that seemed likely to take most of their lately given freedom away. Had President Lincoln lived, and had he found it impossible to secure proper protection for the freedmen by the methods of reconstruction that he first proposed, he would undoubtedly have modified his course; and he would without doubt have kept the confidence and support of the people in what he did. But President Johnson had none of the qualities of mind and temper that gave Lincoln his extraordinary power. His course tended from the beginning to alarm the ruling party and drive it into the extremely radical policy from which Lincoln had been holding it back.

Unpopularity of President Johnson.

345. Congressional Reconstruction. 1865–1871. In the bitter quarrel that ensued between Congress and the President, his reconstructive work was undone, and most of his executive authority was taken practically away. By majorities so large as to overcome his vetoes, Congress passed a series of radical acts. A Civil Rights

[1] The adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment by three fourths of the States was proclaimed December 18, 1865.

Bill, made law in April, 1866, affirmed the citizenship of the freed negroes and gave them the protection of United states courts, and military and naval forces, to prevent state interference with their equal privileges and rights. In June a joint resolution recommended to the States a Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, embodying the principles of the Civil Rights Act;[1] providing, further, for a reduction of the congressional representation of any State that should deny the elective franchise to any male citizens of voting age; also excluding prominent officials of the late Confederacy from Federal offices until Congress should pardon them, and forbidding the payment of any debt incurred in aid of rebellion against the United States. The reconstructed legislature of Tennessee ratified this Fourteenth Amendment so promptly that Congress, in July, declared that State restored to its former relations to the Union.

Fourteenth Amendment, 1866-1868.

The congressional elections of 1866 turned on the issue between Congress and the President, and the former was sustained. Rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment by all the lately Confederate States except Tennessee, and a serious riot in New Orleans, helped to array popular feeling against the President's reconstructive work. The result was the election of a new Congress (the Fortieth), more radical than the one whose contest with the Executive it would take up. That contest was reopened vigorously when the final session of the Thirty-ninth Congress began. By a

Congress sustained in the elections, 1866.

[1] In what are known as the Louisiana "Slaughter House Cases," the Supreme Court decided in 1873 that citizenship of the State is distinct from citizenship of the United States, and that the right of a State to regulate the privileges of the former is not affected by this amendment.

law known as the Tenure of Office Act, the power of the President to make removals from office was rendered dependent on senatorial consent. Practical independence of the President was conferred on Lieutenant-General Grant. Universal manhood suffrage, without regard to color, was established in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. Nebraska was admitted to the Union.

Finally, on the next to the last day of its existence, this aggressive Congress passed a "Military Reconstruction Act," which swept away the structures of state government raised by the President, and divided all the late Confederate States (except Tennessee, now fully restored) into five military districts, each to be commanded by a general of the army, under whose direction a new reorganization of state governments was to take place. In the proceedings for that purpose the suffrage was to be exercised by blacks and whites on equal terms of sworn loyalty to the Constitution and the Union, with an extensive disfranchisement of those white people who had taken part in the rebellion. When any State so reorganized should have adopted a satisfactory constitution, and should have ratified the proposed Fourteenth Amendment (hitherto rejected by all but Tennessee), and said amendment should have become part of the Constitution of the United States, such State would be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and not before. By a supplementary act the new Congress, convened on the 4th of March, added more strictness to these provisions, and they were set in operation at once. Within little more than a year, compliance with the requirements of the act was secured in seven States, and they were admitted to representation in June, 1868.[1] The process was

The Military Reconstruction Act, March, 1867.

[1] On the 28th of July the Fourteenth Amendment was proclaimed to have been ratified by three fourths of the States.

slower in Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, the last named of which regained seats in Congress in January, 1871.

The three laggard States were required to ratify not only the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, but a Fifteenth, which Congress proposed in February, 1869. This last of the reconstruction amendments forbids the United States or any State to deny or abridge the right of citizens of the United States to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It was ratified by the needed number of States, and added to the Constitution by proclamation on March 30, 1870.

Fifteenth Amendment, 1869-1870.

346. The Working of the "Reconstruction" Measures. 1866–1876. Serious evils attended the reorganization and working of state governments in the circumstances created by the Reconstruction Act. The negro vote, dominant for a time almost everywhere, was influenced and controlled to a great extent by political adventurers, many of whom went into the southern States from the north. Such northern workers in southern politics were called "carpet-baggers;"[1] others of the same class, branded as "scalawags," were a home product in the south. Between them they brought about, in several unfortunate States, a scandalous reign of corruption, extravagance, and almost open plundering of the public, which went on for several years. Resistance by violent measures, to intimidate colored voters, keep them from the polls, and

"Carpet-baggers" and "scalawags."

[1] The term "carpet-bagger" signified one who went into the south, not to settle permanently, but to use the opportunity for getting office and to engage in dishonest schemes. Large numbers of a very different class sought homes in the southern States with an enterprising eye to the development of their resources and the restoration of their prosperity.

frighten them out of public offices, was resorted to by the whites. Secret societies for the purpose were formed, under different names, and these were all finally merged in one formidable organization known as the Ku-Klux Klan, which terrorized many regions of the south for half a dozen years after 1867.

347. Impeachment of the President. 1868. The triumph of Congress in reconstruction did not end its conflict with the President. Several members of his cabinet, including Secretary Stanton, had disapproved his course, and all of those except Stanton resigned. At length the President attempted to remove Stanton, in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act, which he deemed unconstitutional; whereupon, in February, 1868, the representatives impeached him for trial before the Senate, exercising for the first time, against a President, the power conferred by the Constitution in Art. I. sect. ii. clause 5, sect. iii. clauses 6–7, and Art. II. sect. iv. This was a grave proceeding, new to the experience of the country, and it was anxiously watched. The trial of the impeachment, begun on the 5th of March and ended on the 16th of May, resulted in a failure to convict, by one less than the necessary two thirds of the senatorial vote.

Attempt to remove Stanton.

Trial and vote.

348. Incidents of the Period. 1866–1867. After ten years of persevering effort and many costly failures, the first successful telegraph cable was stretched across the Atlantic, from Newfoundland to the coast of Ireland, and opened for public use on the 4th of August, 1866.

Atlantic cable, 1866.

The public was furnished with a brief excitement at the end of May, that year, by an Irish organization called the Fenian Brotherhood, formed with objects of hostility to the government of Great Britain. A body of about 900

armed Fenians assembled at Buffalo, crossed the Niagara River on the 31st of May, and invaded Canada, with objects that were never made clear. After a slight skirmish with Canadian troops they returned to American soil. The government of the United States was tardy in taking measures to prevent this breach of the peace.

Fenian invasion of Canada, 1866.

In March, 1867, the French emperor was warned out of Mexico, where he had been conducting an audacious war of conquest since 1862. His troops had entered the country in coöperation with English and Spanish forces, to enforce a payment of debts. The English and Spanish governments drew out of the expedition when they found that Louis Napoleon had further designs, and he proceeded alone to subjugate the Mexican people, regardless of remonstrances from the United States. He felt assured that the American Republic was going to pieces, and that he could establish himself in influence on this side of the world. He had succeeded so far as to overthrow the Mexican Republic and set up an empire, of which Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, was persuaded to accept the throne, — a throne supported by the bayonets of France. When the United States became free from domestic war, its government renewed expostulations on the subject, with such emphasis that the French army supporting Maximilian was withdrawn (March, 1867). Two months later the unfortunate Austrian prince was defeated by the Mexicans, taken prisoner, tried by court-martial, and shot.

French in Mexico, 1862-1867.

What is proving to be a valuable as well as a large addition to the territory of the United States was made in May, 1867, by a treaty with Russia, negotiated by Secretary Seward, purchasing Alaska (see Map XV.) for the sum of $7,200,000.

Purchase of Alaska, 1867.

349. Election of General Grant. — Conditions in the South. 1868–1872. The presidential election of 1868 was carried by the Republican party electing General Grant over ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York. The latter carried New York, New Jersey, and Oregon, of the northern States.

During most of the period of the presidency of General Grant a turbulent and deplorable condition of things existed in many of the southern States. Their local governments were bad; a large part of their white citizens were intensely hostile to the state authorities, to the negro voters, to the politicians who led the negroes, and generally to all who upheld the existing condition of things. Frequent conflicts and acts of violence challenged Congress to sustain its previous measures by severe penal laws, known as "force bills," passed in 1870 and 1871. The Federal executive was called upon in several instances to interfere, in obedience to the fourth section of Article IV. of the Constitution; but President Grant seems to have avoided such intervention when he could. In 1872 political violence had subsided so far that Congress, that year, modified its harshest legislation and restored the full franchises of citizenship to large classes by a general amnesty act. Within the next two or three years a change for the better, in the character of their legislatures and administrative officials, was brought about in all the southern States.

Disorder in the south, 1868-1872.

350. Rupture in the Republican Party. — Reëlection of President Grant. 1872. Beginning about 1870, considerable dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Administration and with the course of Congress in carrying out its reconstruction policy arose in the Republican party, and a positive rupture appeared in the presidential

election of 1872. The dissatisfied section of the party, taking the name of Liberal Republicans, formed a coalition with the main body of the Democratic party, and Horace Greeley, editor of the "New York Tribune," was nominated for President as the candidate of both. Dissenting Democrats nominated Charles O'Conor, of New York. The regular Republicans renominated President Grant, and elected him by a majority much larger than in 1868.

Liberal Republicans, 1872.

351. Incidents of the Period of President Grant. 1869–1876. Early in the administration of President Grant, an opportunity for the annexation of the Dominican Republic, in the island of San Domingo, or Hayti, was presented to him, and he thought it should be improved. Without the approval of his cabinet he negotiated an annexation treaty with the Dominican president then in power (1869), and pressed the acceptance of it on the Senate very earnestly, but without success. Opinion generally was against the measure.

San Domingo treaty, 1869.

From the beginning of the ravages committed by the Alabama and other Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports, the American government had been claiming indemnity from England. Two conventions for a settlement of what were called the "Alabama Claims" had been negotiated in President Johnson's time, but neither was acceptable to the United States. In 1871 the British government proposed a Joint High Commission, to meet in Washington and devise a settlement of several questions in controversy between the two countries, including the Alabama Claims. The proposal was accepted, and resulted in an agreement styled the Treaty of Washington, which was signed on the 8th of May, 1871. Under this treaty the claims in question were submitted to a tribunal of

Settlement of Alabama Claims, 1871-1872.

arbitration, which had its sessions in Geneva, Switzerland, and which, in September, 1872, awarded $15,500,000 to the United States.

President Grant was very earnest in efforts to bring about some correction of notorious wrongs in the treatment of the red men on their reservations in the west, and he gave extensive powers to a commission of philanthropic citizens who tried to assist him to that end; but the "spoilsmen" of the public service and the lawless population of the frontier were too strong for him and them. The Indians were never worse treated, and several fierce outbreaks of different tribes were provoked.

Indian wars, 1871-1876.

There were bloody and costly wars with the Apaches of Arizona in 1871, with the Modocs of Oregon and northern California in 1873, and with the Sioux of South Dakota in 1876. In the last-named conflict, five companies of a cavalry regiment, led by General Custer, one of the famous cavalry commanders of the Civil War, were overpowered by a great force of the Sioux warriors, commanded by an able chief named Sitting Bull, and were slain to the last man.

This period following the war was naturally one of demoralization in political and commercial affairs. War

Demoralizing consequences of war.

tends always to derange the better order of things, producing a moral laxity of conduct and feeling, in many ways. In this case it had intensified the vices of the "spoils system" in the public service, and raised dishonesties in it to a scandalous pitch. Then, too, the pernicious influence of the depreciated legal-tender paper money, which stimulated extravagance and cultivated the gambling spirit in business, was coming to its climax in the years that followed the war. The result was a state of things which brought unscrupulous boldness to the front in many fields of busi-

ness and of public affairs. The administration of the government was beset by corrupting influences, as it had never been before. The country was outraged and shamed by frauds in the War Department, in the Custom House, and in the Indian Bureau, and by "whiskey rings" of dishonest distillers and conniving officials, who worked together to evade the excise. Plundering combinations got control of municipal governments, most notoriously that known as the "Tweed ring," in the city of New York. Others took possession of great railway corporations, as in the case of the Erie Railway, and used them in audacious schemes. Extensive frauds in the construction of the first line of rails from the Missouri to the Pacific, with corruption of men in public life, by a company of men styled the "Credit Mobilier," came to light in 1872–73. Enterprise in railway building ran wild in these years, to such a degree that no less than $1,700,000,000 were estimated to have been expended upon it, between 1868 and 1873. It was extravagantly overdone, and had much to do with bringing about a financial panic and crash in 1873.

Official frauds.

Tweed ring.

Erie Railway.

Credit Mobilier.

Panic of 1873.

If demoralizing influences that arose from the circumstances of the Civil War reached their culmination in the period of the presidency of General Grant, they were generally checked before it closed. Vigorous movements of correction and reform, in various directions, were set on foot. It was then, on the recommendation of President Grant, in his message of 1870, that the first act of Congress in the interest of "civil service reform" was passed. From 1865 to 1870, a representative from Rhode Island, Mr. Jenckes, had striven annually to persuade Congress to begin some reform of the public service, without success. Now the

"Civil service reform."

first step was taken toward introducing a "merit system" of selection and appointment, by means of competitive examinations; but congressmen disliked it, and brought the new system nearly to a stop, at the end of three years, by withholding appropriations for the necessary work. Public opinion, however, was demanding the reform, and hostile politicians could not suppress it long.

"Merit system."

The years 1871 and 1872 were marked by two of the most calamitous fires that have been known in modern times. By that of 1871 the city of Chicago, then containing a few more than 300,000 inhabitants, was nearly destroyed. The flames raged from Sunday evening, October 8, until the Tuesday following, burning over more than three square miles of the densest business and resident section of the city, devouring the homes of almost 100,000 people, with a total destruction of about 17,000 buildings, and of property reckoned altogether at $200,000,000. Boston was the sufferer in November, 1872, from a fire which laid waste sixty-five acres in the commercial heart of the city. Nearly 800 buildings and $80,000,000 worth of property were destroyed. In the same years there were widely destructive forest fires in Michigan and other parts of the northwest.

Great Chicago fire, 1871.

Boston fire, 1872.

352. Preparation to resume "Specie Payments." — Rise of the "Greenback Party." 1875–1879. In 1875 an act was passed by Congress which provided for the resumption of specie payments by the government on the 1st of January, 1879. That is, the government pledged itself to redeem its legal tender notes, dollar for dollar, in gold, on and after that date; and the pledge was duly fulfilled. The price of gold in greenbacks had been slowly declining since the end of the war, and continued

to do so until "resumption" made the paper dollar and the gold dollar equal in worth. But the market price of all commodities went down, of course, toward the gold measure of values, in proportion as the depreciated greenback currency rose toward equivalence with gold,[1] and many people were dissatisfied with that effect. Believing that inflated prices would stimulate industry and trade permanently, as well as temporarily, and that abundance of a "cheap money" would keep the country prosperous, these people were opposed to any abandonment of the system of legal-tender irredeemable paper money, which the country had created as a desperate expedient, under the stress of war. They formed what came to be known as the "Greenback party," and were a force of importance in the politics of the next few years.

Opposition to resumption, 1875-1879.

353. The Centennial Year. — Disputed Presidential Election. 1876. In 1876 the centennial anniversary of American independence was celebrated in many modes, but most impressively by the holding, at Philadelphia, of a great International Exposition of industries and arts. The educating effect of the exposition on the millions who flocked to it, from every part of the country, appeared notably afterward, in improvements of workmanship and refinements of taste.

Centennial Exposition, 1876.

The presidential election of that centennial year was the most agitating and critical in its outcome that has

[1] Since the suspension of specie payments in 1861 (see sect. 318), gold, whether coined or uncoined, had been only a commodity of the market, bought and sold for greenbacks at prices always fluctuating and generally rising. The highest greenback price of gold was reached on the 11th of July, 1864, when the gold dollar was priced at $\$2.85\frac{1}{2}$ in greenbacks; at which rate the paper "dollar" (so called) was worth in reality but 35 cents.

ever occurred. Disaffection in the Republican party had not gone to the length of a rupture, as in 1872, but raised a heated strife between some who favored and others who opposed the renomination of Grant for a third term. Public feeling was against that departure from the precedents in our history, and the project was given up.

Hayes and Tilden, 1876.

From numerous candidates proposed, General Rutherford B. Hayes, who had been an excellent governor of Ohio and a good soldier in the Civil War, was the chosen nominee. His formidable opponent was Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, reforming leader of the Democratic party in that State, and famous for victories won in the overthrow of the corrupt "Tweed Ring" of New York city and a corrupt "Canal Ring" in the State. The Greenback party nominated Peter Cooper, a wealthy philanthropist of New York, who received a small vote. Between Hayes and Tilden the contest was close, and the result of it was found to depend mainly on certain southern States, where opportunities for fraud were wide, and where disputes in the canvassing of votes were sure to occur.

The disputes arose in South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon, from each of which two certified returns of electoral votes were sent to Congress by contesting electors. The Constitution provides for no such contingency, nor had Congress provided, by any enactment. The Constitution directs that "the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted." By whom should the question between these rival certificates be adjudged? Republicans controlled the Senate; Democrats were a majority in the House; and partisan excitement ran high. The sit-

uation was so dangerous that leading men in the two parties were forced to arrive at some agreement before the day of counting came. They united in creating an Electoral Commission of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court, to which all disputed votes should be referred. On this plan the count was conducted, and Mr. Hayes, on the morning of March 2, 1877, was declared elected, by a majority of one electoral vote. Unhappily, every question referred to the Commission was decided by a partisan vote, of 8 Republicans against 7 Democrats, which cast a doubt on the impartiality of the judgment of the case. There was no resistance to the decision; the submission to it was most admirable; but a large part of the nation questioned the rightfulness of the election of President Hayes.

The dangerous question, 1876.

354. Administration of President Hayes. 1877–1881. That any doubt should shadow the election of President Hayes was most unfortunate; for his excellent administration of the government marks distinctly an epoch of recovery from the derangements of the Civil War. The temper of partisan politics lost much of its heat, and those leaders who clung to the bitter reconstruction issues found their influence decline. Public feeling approved the action of the President when, soon after his inauguration, he withdrew most of the Federal forces from the south, and allowed state governments which military authority had been upholding in South Carolina and Louisiana to be set aside by the courts and legislatures of those States. The white inhabitants regained political control in all the reconstructed States, and have kept it by methods (of intimidation at first and afterward of law) which annul to a large extent the political rights that were

White ascendancy in the south, 1877-1881.

conferred on the freed slaves by the reconstruction acts. But experience had seemed to give clear proof of failure in the policy of force, employed for ten years to prevent that result, and public opinion settled slowly to the conclusion that the duty of the nation to the emancipated people must be performed in some other way.

Education, industrial training, encouragement to thrift, widening of opportunities, promotion of common interests and friendly relations between whites and blacks, have appeared to be the most promising means for slowly bettering or curing the unhappy conditions of society which slavery brought about. A great work in those directions is in progress, with effects that show more plainly from year to year.

Recent progress in the south.

355. The Bland Silver Bill. — Resumption of Specie Payments. In 1878 the approaching resumption of specie payments, with the consequent full return to prices measured by the gold standard of values, led those who feared bad effects from that measure to combine with a strong silver-mining interest in pressing through Congress an act known as the Bland Silver Bill. Silver was losing value, compared with gold, from two causes. One cause was a vast increase in the production of silver, far exceeding the increase of gold production; the other was in the fact that many countries, where formerly both gold and silver coins were equally legal tender, at a ratio fixed by law (furnishing a double standard of value), had lately adopted the single gold standard, dropping silver coinage, except for purposes of "small change." By law the United States had done so in 1873; but practically it had done the same, by not coining silver dollars, long before.

Declining value of silver, 1871-1878.

Three desires, then, actuated the pressure on Congress which brought about the passage of the Bland Silver

Bill of 1878: (1) to enlarge the market for silver; (2) to bring into use another and lower standard of value — a "cheaper money" — along with that of gold; and (3) to increase the quantity of money for circulation. The bill required the government to purchase, every month, not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, and coin it into silver dollars at the rate of 412½ grains of standard silver, or 371¼ grains of fine silver, for each dollar. It also authorized an issue of silver certificates on deposits of silver dollars in the treasury, thus creating a paper currency redeemable in that silver coin.

The resumption of specie payments was accomplished on the 1st of January, 1879, with no shock of disturbance to the business world. The preparations for it made by the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, were careful and complete. **Resumption, 1879.**

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

344. President Andrew Johnson. — His Conflict with Congress.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Antecedents of Vice-President Johnson. 2. His work of reconstruction in the lately seceded States. 3. Action of legislatures in those States. 4. Feeling produced in the north. Blaine, ii. 1–15, 56–154; Lothrop, 404–418; Storey, 290–301; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 31–61; Grant, ii. 359–361; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 468–475, 479–481.

345. Congressional Reconstruction.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Undoing of the President's reconstructive work. 2. Civil Rights Act. 3. Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment. 4. Congress sustained in the elections. 5. Tenure of Office Act. 6. General Grant. — District of Columbia. — The Territories. — Ne-

braska. 7. Military Reconstruction Act. — Seceded States restored. 8. Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment. Blaine, ii. ch. viii.–xii.; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, ch. v.–vii., x.; Lothrop, 419–425; Storey, ch. xix.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 482–489, 492–494; Barnes, ch. ix.–xxiv.

346. The Working of the Reconstruction Measures.

Topics and References.

1. Serious evils created. 2. Political adventurers and the negro vote. 3. Scandalous state of things brought about. 4. Violent resistance by whites. 5. "Ku-Klux Klan" and other secret societies. Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 244–264; Blaine, ii. 463–474; S. S. Cox, ch. xxv.–xxvi.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 475–478, 495–500; Herbert, ch. ii.–xiv.; B. T. Washington, ch. vi.; Andrews, i. 36–40.

347. Impeachment of the President.

Topics and References.

1. The President's attempt to remove Secretary Stanton. 2. Impeachment proceedings and their failure. Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 142–143, 157–194; Storey, 346–351; Hart, *Chase*, 357–361; McCulloch, ch. xxvi.; Blaine, ii. ch. xiv.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 489–492.

348. Incidents of the Period.

Topics and References.

1. The Atlantic Cable. Prescott, i. ch. xxvi.

2. Fenian invasion of Canada. Bourinot, 378.

3. Undertakings of the French emperor in Mexico. 4. Maximilian of Austria made emperor. 5. Expostulations of the United States. 6. Withdrawal of the French. — Fate of Maximilian. H. H. Bancroft, ix. ch. i.–xiv.; Nicolay and Hay, vii. ch. xiv.

7. The Alaskan purchase. Blaine, ii. 333–339; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 299–302; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 547–550.

349. Election of General Grant. — Conditions in the South.

Topics and References.

1. General Grant elected President. 2. Deplorable condition of many southern States. 3. Conflicts. — Acts of violence. —

"Force bills." 4. Harsh measures modified in 1872. Stanwood, ch. xxiii.; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 222–224, 267–276; Andrews, i. 40, 78–85, 111–167. (See, also, references under sect. 346.)

350. Rupture in the Republican Party. — Reëlection of President Grant.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. "Liberal Republicans." 2. Their coalition with Democrats. — Nomination of Horace Greeley for President. 3. Reëlection of Grant. Stanwood, ch. xxiv.; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 264–267; Andrews, i. 30–36, 57–78.

351. Incidents of the Administration of President Grant.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Treaty for annexation of the Dominican Republic. Storey, ch. xxiii.; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 323–327; Andrews, i. 48–56.

2. Settlement of the "Alabama Claims." Blaine, ii. ch. xx.; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 302–320; Andrews, i. 87–95; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 550–556.

3. Indian wars. — Fate of General Custer and his command. Andrews, i. ch. vii.

4. Demoralization resulting from the recent state of war and the monetary inflation. 5. Frauds and corrupting influences. 6. The "Tweed Ring." — Erie Railway scandals. — "Credit Mobilier." 7. Excessive railway building. — Panic of 1873. 8. Movements of correction and reform. 9. First step in civil service reform.

10. Great fires in Chicago and Boston. — Forest fires.

RESEARCH. — Insurrection in Cuba. — The affair of the Virginius. Andrews, i. 47–48; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 557–561.

352. Preparation to resume "Specie Payments." — Rise of the Greenback Party.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The resumption act. 2. Decline of inflated prices and consequent dissatisfaction. 3. Opposition to resumption. 4. Beliefs of the Greenback party. Bolles, iii. bk. 1–2; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 276–279; Johnston, *Am. Politics*, 242.

RESEARCH. — Gold speculation. — "Black Friday." Andrews, i. 40–45.

353. The Centennial Year. — Disputed Presidential Election.

Topics and References.

1. Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Andrews, i. 196–200.

2. Division in the Republican party. 3. Failure to renominate Grant for a third term. 4. The disputed presidential election. 5. No provision of law for settling the dispute. 6. Agreement to create an Electoral Commission. 7. Decision electing President Hayes. — Doubts of its impartiality. Stanwood, 356–393; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 280–295; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 504–507; Andrews, i. 200–221.

354. Administration of President Hayes.

Topics and References.

1. An epoch of recovery. 2. Withdrawal of Federal forces from the south. 3. White ascendancy regained in the reconstructed States. 4. Political rights of the freedmen practically annulled. Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 295–298; Bryce, ii. ch. xcii.; Herbert, ch. xx.

5. Apparent failure of the policy of force. 6. Duty of the nation to the emancipated people: how shall it be performed? B. T. Washington; Cable; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 663–665.

355. The Bland Silver Bill. — Resumption of Specie Payments.

Topics and References.

1. The combination which passed the Bland Silver Bill. 2. Silver losing value, and why. 3. The objects sought in the bill. 4. Provisions of the bill. Taussig, *Silver Situation*, 1–10.

5. Successful resumption of specie payments. Andrews, i. 264–267; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 531–533.

THE NEW ERA.
1880–1903.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RECENT YEARS.

356. General Garfield elected President. — His Murder. 1880–1881. As the presidential election of 1880 approached, a wing of the Republican party called "Stalwart," led by Senator Conkling, of New York, renewed the effort to nominate General Grant for a third term. One object of the movement was to defeat the nomination of James G. Blaine, of Maine, with whom Conkling was at feud. The defeat of Blaine was accomplished, but the nomination of Grant was not. The choice of the party fell upon General James A. Garfield, who had won distinction in the Civil War and in public life since. The Democratic nominee was General Winfield Scott Hancock, one of the notable corps commanders of the war. Other nominations were made by the Prohibitionists and by the Greenback party, so called. The latter party now demanded, not only the substitution of legal tender notes for the notes of the national banks, but also an unlimited coinage of silver to be legal tender money. It cast 308,000 votes. General Garfield was elected by small majorities in all of the northern States save three; but he led General Hancock by only 10,000 in the total popular vote.

Party division.

By calling Mr. Blaine to his cabinet as Secretary of

State, and by some appointments to office in New York, President Garfield incurred the wrath of the "Stalwarts" and their chief, and the first weeks of his administration saw the opening of a bitter factional feud. The passions excited by that quarrel worked on one weak-minded wretch, among the office-hunting swarms in Washington, until, on the 2d of July, 1881, he shot the President, as the latter was about to enter a railway train for Long Branch. The wounded man lingered for more than eleven weeks, while the whole sympathizing world watched the slow agony of his death. On the 19th of September President Garfield breathed his last, and the Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, succeeded to his place.

The tragedy of the "spoils system," July 2, 1881.

The new President had been most prominent as the close friend and political lieutenant of Senator Conkling; but he carried no spirit of faction into the great office to which he had been tragically called. His administration was one of dignity, of prudence, of not much eventfulness, but of quiet reputability in the annals of the United States.

The shock of the murder of President Garfield by a disappointed office-seeker, maddened by the excitements of a shameful quarrel over the parcelling out of public offices, roused the public to a sense of the hatefulness and the mischief of the "spoils system" as nothing else could have done. It incited a really resolute reform movement, which has gone steadily forward from that day. A National Civil Service Reform League, organized in 1881, with George William Curtis for its able and eloquent president, has given a strong lead to the influences that work for the reform. The first efficient law to establish a merit system of appointments in the national civil service (the Pendleton

Civil Service Reform, 1881-1885.

Act) was passed by Congress in 1883, and faithfully administered by President Arthur. It has been supplemented since. In many States and cities the public service has undergone a like reform.

357. Change of Party in the Administration. — Election of President Cleveland. 1884–1885. In 1884 Mr. Blaine secured the Republican nomination for President, but failed in the election. A considerable body of "Independent Republicans" (called "Mugwumps" by their opponents) withdrew their support from him and gave it to Grover Cleveland, the Democratic nominee. Mr. Cleveland had attracted attention in recent years by conspicuously straightforward conduct in public life. As mayor of Buffalo he had dealt with corrupt politicians in a way that caused the people of the State of New York to make him governor; and as governor he had continued the exhibition of moral courage, sturdy uprightness, and sound sense. His election to the presidency gave fresh proof of the fact, which political managers are slow to understand, that no other candidate for important office is so "popular" as a single-minded, sound-minded, fearlessly straightforward man.

Independents or "Mugwumps," 1884.

When Mr. Cleveland became President, no Democrat had held the reins of executive government at Washington for twenty-five years. To many good citizens the change of party in the administration was a dreaded event, and it surprised them to find that the country was disturbed no more than by the transfer of government from one Republican President to another. There may have been, on the whole, a little more shifting of officials and clerks; but it was slowly done, — too slowly to satisfy most of the politicians of the President's party, whose craving for the "spoils" of

Unfounded fears.

their victory, after twenty-five years of privation, was keen. Few Presidents have been so little moved by party influence and so firmly independent in their course, as Mr. Cleveland proved to be. He provoked hostility, as a consequence, in some influential circles of his party.

358. Controversies with Great Britain. 1885–1892. Two controversies with Great Britain gave some trouble to Mr. Cleveland's administration. One related to the privileges which American fishermen had been enjoying on the British-American coast, under the Treaty of Washington, concluded in 1871 (see sect. **351**). A commission appointed to determine the compensation to be paid for those privileges, and which met at Halifax in 1877, had made an award ($5,500,000) which caused dissatisfaction in the United States. Consequently, by notice given in 1883, the fishery articles of the treaty were annulled, and ceased to have effect July 1, 1885. This reopened troublesome old questions, and Congress was asked to authorize an arrangement with Great Britain for a joint commission to settle matters in dispute. Congress declined to do so, and a period of fishery quarrels ensued. At length, in 1887, a joint commission of British and American statesmen was agreed upon, and it met in Washington late that year. A treaty which the President approved was concluded in February, but the Senate rejected it after long debate. Fortunately, however, a change in modes of fishing had removed most of the causes of quarrel, and no further troubles of a serious kind occurred.

The Halifax award, 1877.

A graver difference sprang from the claim of the United States to a right of jurisdiction over the "seal fisheries" (so called) of the Bering Sea. The controversy became serious in President Cleveland's term, and the peace of the two countries

The Bering Sea question, 1886-1892.

was endangered by it for half a dozen years. Finally, in 1892, the questions involved were submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, which had sessions in Paris during the following year. The decision was adverse to the claims of the United States, but regulations for the preservation of the fur seals were prescribed, which the governments of the United States and Great Britain were to enforce.

359. Legislation and Incidents of the Period. 1885–1887. In 1887 the repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, passed in 1867 to tie President Johnson's hands (see sect. **345**), was brought about by a sharp refusal on the part of President Cleveland to report reasons to the Senate for his removal of a district attorney, and to submit papers relating to the case. He questioned the constitutionality of the act, and condemned it as a grave encroachment on the responsible powers of the executive. His argument was so convincing, and public opinion endorsed it so strongly, that Congress at its next session repealed the act.

Tenure of Office Act repealed.

Two other measures of great importance, touching the presidential office, were perfected in 1886 and 1887. The first of these is a careful guard against the occurrence of a vacancy in the headship of government. It prescribes that, in case of the death, resignation, or disability of both President and Vice-President, the executive office shall devolve on members of the cabinet in the following order: 1, Secretary of State; 2, Secretary of the Treasury; 3, Secretary of War; 4, Attorney-General; 5, Postmaster-General; 6, Secretary of the Navy; 7, Secretary of the Interior. The second act removed that dangerous question that arose in 1876, relative to the counting of electoral votes. It provides for the determination by state

Succession to the presidency, 1886-1887.

Regulation of the counting of electoral votes.

courts, as far as possible, of all contests over electoral votes; but when Congress must decide such contests, in counting electoral votes, it shall do so by concurrent action of the two houses, acting separately; and if they disagree, the votes which are certified by the state executive shall be counted.

In exercise of the power conferred by the Constitution (Art. I. sect. viii. clause 3) "to regulate commerce . . . among the several States," Congress passed an act of high importance in 1887. It placed all railroads that run in or through more than one State under the supervision of an Inter-State Commerce Commission, which has large powers to prevent unfair discriminations between persons or places, in facilities for business or in transportation rates. Amendments from time to time have improved the working of the act, and made it effective for removing many causes of complaint.

Inter-State Commerce Commission, 1887.

The message of President Cleveland to Congress in 1887 was devoted to one subject, giving emphasis to the fact that the taxation imposed by the existing tariff was piling up a dangerous surplus in the Treasury, draining money from the business of the country to an alarming extent. The time-honored principles of the Democratic party were against the collection of such a surplus of revenue, and against the high tariff that produced it; but a large section of the party had been helping of late to defeat all attempts to reduce tariff rates. The President's message was a summons to his party to renew allegiance to the principles it had always professed. The call was answered, and the tariff question, as a leading issue in politics, was raised again to its old place. Before Congress closed its session, the Democratic majority in the House of Repre-

President Cleveland's tariff message, 1887.

sentatives had passed a bill, known as the Mills Bill, for moderating duties, and the Republican Senate had voted it down. The issue was made, and went to the people in the election of the next year.

Mills Bill.

After a lingering and painful illness of several months, General Grant died on the 23d of July, 1885, and was entombed at New York, on the 8th of August, with funeral honors the most elaborate ever paid in America to a public man.

Death of General Grant, July, 1885.

In the spring of 1886 an extensive strike on one of the systems of southwestern railways was attended by violent rioting at St. Louis. This was followed by an outbreak of labor troubles at Chicago, connected with which a mass-meeting in the Haymarket was held on the evening of the 4th of May. Speeches in the anarchist spirit, counselling criminal violence, were made, and one of the speakers was arrested by a body of the police. Thereupon a bomb, thrown from the crowd, exploded in the midst of the police, killing seven and wounding many more. Eight persons known as anarchists were arrested and brought to trial, as accessories to the crime, the throwing of the bomb being proved against none; but all were convicted, of whom four were hanged, three were sentenced to imprisonment, and one took his own life. The justice of the conviction of some of the accused was questioned by many people.

Chicago anarchists, 1886.

360. Election of President Harrison. 1888. Though President Cleveland had pleased few of the political managers of his party, they were forced to renominate him in 1888. The Republicans named Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, grandson of the former President Harrison, — a gentleman who had given excellent proofs of capacity in both civil and military life. Other candidates were put in nomination by several temporary organiza-

tions, which cast few votes. So far as the election turned on the tariff question, which it may have done in the main, it had no decisive result. Of the popular vote, Cleveland received a majority of about 100,000, out of a total that exceeded 11,000,000; but Harrison's vote was more effective in carrying States, and the electoral vote secured for him was 233 against 168.

The Republicans not only regained the presidency, but they won a majority of the House of Representatives, and controlled the whole government once more. In the Senate they were heavily reinforced during the next two years by the admission of six new States, carved out of the great territory of the farther west and northwest. Washington, Montana, and the two Dakotas came into the Union in 1889, Idaho and Wyoming in 1890.

New States, 1889-1890.

At the same time, in 1889, a portion of the Indian Territory, bought from the Indians and named Oklahoma, "the beautiful land," was opened to white settlement. In anticipation of the opening, thousands of intending settlers had gathered on the border, and were held back by soldiers, until, on the 22d of April, the signal of admission was given and they entered the land of promise with a rush. One town site, Guthrie, had 10,000 inhabitants camped on it that night. The Territory of Oklahoma was organized promptly, and has had a remarkably rapid growth.

Oklahoma, 1889.

361. The McKinley Tariff. 1890. The party restored to power seems to have had no doubt that its tariff policy was endorsed by the people; for, instead of lowering the rates of duty, it proceeded at once to raise them to a much higher scale. The aim of the new measure, which became law October 1, 1890, was to prohibit, practically, the importation of many arti-

Aim of the measure.

cles, and reduce the excessive revenue by that means, while forcing the creation of manufactories to produce such excluded commodities in the United States. The act accomplishing this, known as the McKinley Tariff, from the name of the chairman, William McKinley, of the House Committee that framed it, was odious at home to the opponents of extreme "protection," and excited bitter feelings abroad.

362. The Sherman Act. 1890. Another act of the same period introduced a new experiment in finance. It is known as the Sherman Act, and it repealed the Bland Silver Act of 1878 (see sect. **355**), but only to give further satisfaction to the demand for more silver in monetary use. That demand was spreading fast in the country, and politicians in both parties were turning toward it an attentive ear. An increasing number of people were persuaded that the need of the time was more money, and that the quantity of gold in the world was too limited to allow of a sufficient supply of money from that source alone. In the opinion of many there was need of no "standard of value," but all money could be created, as the greenbacks were created, by the "fiat" of government, making a "dollar," by calling it so, on a paper note. But, they would say, if we must have a precious metal standard, let it be the cheaper and more plentiful silver, or gold and silver together, at the ratio of value they once had, which was 16 to 1.

Growing demand for the use of silver.

In 1890 these opinions in favor of silver money were spreading fast, and they were greatly promoted by the Sherman Act. It required the Secretary of the Treasury to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month at the market price, and to issue treasury notes in payment, which should be legal tender for all debts, and which should be redeemable in either gold or

Provisions of the Sherman Act.

silver, at the discretion of the Secretary. The coining of $2,000,000 worth of the silver every month was no longer required, as formerly by the Bland Act, but only so much as might be needed for redeeming the treasury notes. As it turned out, there was no demand for the silver coins, since the legal tender notes were worth just as much, and were more convenient for use.

363. Second Election of ex-President Cleveland. 1892. The monetary ideas described above were represented in a new political party that took form at this time, and which soon became formidable in the west. It received the name of the People's or Populist party, and, in the presidential election of 1892, it cast 1,122,000 votes for James B. Weaver, its nominee. President Harrison and ex-President Cleveland were rival candidates again in this election, and the latter was chosen by a plurality of nearly 400,000 votes. The silver-mining States, and most of the other new States in the far west, were carried by the Populist party, or by a fusion of Democrats and Populists, and those two parties, together, gained control of both branches of Congress.

The Populist party.

364. The Hawaiian Islands.[1] — Columbian Exposition. 1893. On entering office, in March, 1893, President Cleveland felt called upon to undo a recent act of his predecessor, which he disapproved. A revolution in the Hawaiian Islands had overturned the native government in the previous January, with the unconcealed approval of the American minister at Honolulu, and with something like protection given to the revolutionists by marines from a United States ship of war. The active parties in the revolution were mostly alien residents, and their purpose was to bring about the annexation of

[1] See Map XVI.

the islands to the United States. Having organized a provisional government, they sent commissioners to Washington, with whom President Harrison negotiated a treaty of annexation, which he sent to the Senate, where it was under consideration when the change of executive took place. President Cleveland withdrew the treaty immediately, condemning the whole proceeding in strong terms.

Annexation treaty.

The next important official act of President Cleveland was to preside, on the 1st of May, at the formal opening of a great international exposition, at Chicago, commemorative of the discovery of America by Columbus. The exact anniversary of the discovery, October 12, 1892, had been celebrated by a ceremonious dedication of buildings on the exposition ground, then unfinished. In their beauty, their extent, and their whole artistic arrangement, these buildings and the surrounding grounds surpassed those of all previous "world's fairs," and gave impressive evidence of the advance of the country in conceptions of art.

Exposition at Chicago, 1893.

365. A Monetary Crisis. 1893. The working of the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 had produced by this time an alarming condition in the national Treasury and in the country at large. Silver had fallen in market value from $1.20 per ounce in 1890 to 85 cents at the end of 1892. As silver dropped in value, the demand for gold increased. It was hoarded, or it went abroad. People who carried United States notes, either greenbacks or silver certificates, to the United States Treasury and demanded gold for them must be given the gold, or the credit of the government would be impaired. The government must fulfil its promises to pay, by payments in the money that was the standard money of the world. United States law might make silver money

Working of the Sherman Act.

legal tender for debts in the United States, but could not make it so outside. Therefore, to preserve its credit in the world, it was compelled to keep its silver coin, its silver certificates, and its greenbacks up to the gold standard, by keeping them exchangeable for gold.

At the same time, by its own laws the government was compelled to accept the legal tender silver and paper money for customs dues and all taxes, and none of its revenue was paid in gold. Then the notes it redeemed were paid out and might come back to it for re-redemption again and again, working like an endless chain, as was said aptly at the time, to draw gold from the Treasury. The only way in which gold could be obtained for satisfying this exhausting demand was by buying it with bonds, and the Treasury had no authority to do that with such bonds as would sell at a proper rate in gold.

Drain of gold from the Treasury.

In June, 1893, this grave situation was made worse by a stoppage of the free coinage of silver in India, where silver money had been most in use. This caused a new depression in value of silver, a fresh increase of demand for gold, and a panic of alarm in the United States, lest our government should lose the ability to pay its obligations in gold. The President called Congress to an extra session in August, and urged that, at least, the requirement to buy silver should be repealed. A bill to that effect was passed by the House with no long delay, but the Senate, controlled by supporters of the silver policy, resisted all appeals from the alarmed business interests of the country until the end of October, when it passed the bill.

Purchase of silver stopped.

The monetary situation was still a cause of great anxiety, and the President appealed to Congress, at subsequent sessions, for measures to redeem finally and

cancel all the legal tender notes and certificates of the government, and to require duties on imports to be paid in gold ; but it was not done.

366. The Wilson Tariff and the Income Tax. 1894. The subject of tariff revision was taken up in the House of Representatives during the special session of 1893–94, and a bill called the Wilson Bill was framed, which reduced the rates of duty to an important extent. With it went an internal revenue bill, to make up the loss of tariff revenue, and the bill provided for an income tax. When the tariff bill reached the Senate, some protected interests, in sugar manufacture, coal and iron mining, etc., were strong enough there to procure changes which disgusted most of the advocates of tariff reform. President Cleveland was so dissatisfied that he refused to sign the act, but allowed it to become law. The income tax was extremely unpopular, and rejoicing occurred when, in the spring of 1895, it was pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

367. Venezuela Controversy with Great Britain. 1895–1897. On the 17th of December, 1895, President Cleveland startled the country by a message which complained sharply of the refusal of the British government to arbitrate a pending dispute with Venezuela, relative to the boundary between that country and British Guiana. He recommended the appointment of a commission to ascertain the true boundary, with a view to determining the future action of the United States. This was a menace to England that might easily bring on war. Congress acted with haste on the President's recommendation ; the commission was appointed and proceeded to its task. In both England and the United States there was grievous surprise to find the two countries brought suddenly, as it seemed,

President's message, 1895.

to the verge of war, and great excitement prevailed for some weeks. Of really angry war feeling there was none, and before long a reopening of negotiations between the governments led to an arrangement for the arbitration of the dispute.

From the settlement of the Venezuela question the British and American governments went on to the framing of a general treaty for the peaceful settlement by arbitration of future questions between them. That most important treaty, signed at Washington on the 11th of January, 1897, was approved with general joy in the country; notwithstanding which public approval, it was defeated by a faction in the Senate, large enough to prevent concurrence by the two-thirds vote which the Constitution requires.

Defeated arbitration treaty, 1897.

368. The "Silver Question" in the Presidential Election. 1896. In the summer and fall of 1896 the country passed through a presidential election as exciting as that of 1860 had been. One great body of the American people had come to believe that a free, unlimited coinage of legal tender silver money, with the quantity of silver in the silver dollar proportioned to the gold in a gold dollar in the old ratio of 16 to 1 (notwithstanding the lowered value of silver), would give prosperity and plenty to everybody, and overthrow what they looked upon as a tyrannical money power, upheld by the existing single standard of value in gold. Another large body believed as firmly that what these silver advocates wished to do meant universal ruin, overwhelming and complete. The silver men won control of the Democratic national convention, held at Chicago, and nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President. The nomination of Mr. Bryan was endorsed by the Populists, and by a body of Repub-

Party division in 1896.

licans organized as a National Silver party. It was repudiated by many Democrats, who held another convention and nominated General John M. Palmer, of Illinois. The controlling majority of the Republican party, in its national convention at St. Louis, declared itself "opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world;" and it nominated William McKinley for President. There was never before such debating by a whole nation in speech and print, — such a "campaign of education," as it was styled, — as that which ensued. The decision of the people was against the silver theory, by 7,104,000 votes given to McKinley, 6,506,000 to Bryan, 134,000 for Palmer, and 181,000 for Prohibition and Labor nominees.

The "campaign of education," 1896.

369. The Dingley Tariff. — Adoption of the "Single Gold Standard." 1897–1900. One of the first acts of President McKinley, on taking office, was to call a special session of Congress for new tariff legislation, to increase the revenue of government, which he held to be the most imperative of needs. Congress met on the 15th of March, 1897, and the House was so expeditious in acting on the President's recommendation that on the 30th of the same month it passed a bill, reported from Committee by Mr. Dingley, of Maine, and known as the Dingley Tariff Bill. The bill, which restored extreme protective duties, higher than those of the McKinley Tariff, passed the Senate in July.

An effort to persuade the leading nations of Europe to join the United States in restoring the monetary use of silver was made by the appointment in April of a commission of three gentlemen, who visited France and England, but returned with a discouraging report.

Monetary commission.

Efforts at home to deal with the incongruous and disturbing monetary system of the country were blocked by irreconcilable differences between the Senate, controlled by the silver parties, and the House of Representatives, where opposite opinions prevailed. Thus the situation remained until the spring of 1900, when the sway of silver doctrines in the Senate was lost. A law was then enacted which makes 25.8 grains of coined gold, eight-tenths fine, the standard "dollar,"—the sole unit of value in the United States. "Dollars" represented in other forms, on paper or in silver coins, must be kept to equivalence with that gold "dollar" by being exchangeable for it. Apparently that standard is now fixed by both public opinion and law.

The standard "dollar," established, 1900.

In May, 1898, a convention with Great Britain provided for the creation of a Joint High Commission, to settle a number of troublesome questions between Canada and the United States, including a disputed boundary between Alaska and the Canadian Dominion. The Joint Commission held meetings at intervals until February, 1899, when discouraging differences on the Alaska boundary question brought them to a close.

Canadian questions, 1898-1899.

In July, 1898, the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was accomplished by a joint resolution of Congress.

370. The Spanish-American War. 1898. Since 1895 a revolt in Cuba, resisted with cruelty by the Spanish government, had been appealing to the sympathy of the American people, and stirring an indignation that grew hotter from month to month. To that excitement of feeling another was added suddenly, on the 15th of February, 1898, when the United States battleship Maine, while paying a visit of

Destruction of the Maine, February, 1898.

courtesy to Havana, was destroyed, with almost her entire crew, by what seemed to be the explosion of a submarine mine. An American naval court of inquiry investigated the catastrophe, and decided that the explosion was exterior to the ship; while a Spanish court concluded that it happened in the vessel's magazine. Whatever the fact, American feeling was hardened instantly to a determination that the war in Cuba must be stopped. After some fruitless negotiation to that end, the President was directed by Congress, on the 18th of April, to "demand that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba." War followed immediately; the President, on the 23d of April, called for 125,000 volunteers, and for 75,000 more on the 25th of May. Cuban ports were blockaded, and naval forces were increased with rapidity by the purchase and adaptation of privately built ships.

Courts of inquiry.

A fleet from Spain, which reached the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, was blockaded there. Another Spanish fleet, guarding the Philippine Islands, — the only naval force of Spain in the Pacific, — was attacked in Manila Bay by the Asiatic squadron of the United States, under Commodore (afterward Admiral) George Dewey, and destroyed, on the 1st of May.

MANILA BAY.

On the 14th of June an expedition of 16,000 men, under General Shafter, sailed from Tampa, Florida, to Santiago de Cuba, to coöperate with the blockading fleet in the capture of that port and the Spanish fleet. Landed at a

point near Santiago, the American army fought severe battles with the Spanish troops at San Juan Hill and El Caney, on the 1st and 2d of July, and gained positions for an investment of the city. On the morning of the 3d Admiral Cervera, who commanded the Spanish fleet, foreseeing the capture of the port, attempted to run the blockade and escape; but every one of his ships was driven ashore or sunk. The honors of this victory have been kept in much dispute between friends of Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley, who were first and second in command. Santiago and the Spanish army were surrendered on the 17th of July.

Land and sea fights at Santiago, July 1-3.

THE SANTIAGO CAMPAIGN.

Before this occurred, troops sent from San Francisco were arriving at Manila, to assist Admiral Dewey in taking that city. Aguinaldo, exiled leader of an insurrection in the Philippines which had failed the year before, was brought back and raised a native force, between which and the Americans some degree of coöperation was maintained for a few weeks. But Aguinaldo and his followers were working for the independence of the islands, while the government of the United States was yielding to a desire for their acquisition, as possessions of its own. Aguinaldo proclaimed a revolutionary government, with himself at its head, and began to take an attitude of hostility to the Americans before the capture of Manila, which occurred August 13.

Aguinaldo at Manila, July-August.

While the siege of Manila was in progress, another expedition from the United States, under General Miles, took possession of the island of Porto Rico, after a brief campaign of nineteen days, from July 25 till August 12. In that interval peace negotiations with Spain had been in progress, and hostilities were suspended on the 12th of August, articles preliminary to a treaty having been signed that day. Peace commissioners from the two nations met at Paris in October, and the definite treaty was signed December 10. Spain relinquished her claim to sovereignty over Cuba, and ceded to the United States (see Map XVI.) the island of Porto Rico, the island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrones, and the Philippine Islands, for which latter the United States agreed to pay the sum of $20,000,000. The acquisition of the Philippines was opposed with deep feeling by many of the American people, who looked upon the policy of colonial empire, and the subjugation of native peoples, as a wrong and dangerous departure from the principles and precedents of the Republic.

Porto Rico taken, July-August.

Treaty of peace. Cessions from Spain, December 10.

371. Native Revolt in the Philippines. — Independence of Cuba. 1899–1902. The treaty was ratified, however; American authority was asserted in the Philippines, and Aguinaldo became the leader of a revolt against it, which came to an outbreak on the 4th of February, 1899. From that time until April, 1901, when Aguinaldo was captured by stratagem, and little of the revolt was left, an army was maintained in the Islands which numbered 71,000 officers and men in October, 1900. Until July 1, 1901, the Islands were under military rule, with a civil commission, having legislative powers, acting in coöperation with the military authority during the last ten months. On the 1st of July, 1901,

civil government was established, pursuant to an act of Congress passed in the previous March. Judge Taft, who had been at the head of the previous commission, was appointed governor, and his wise administration appears to have created general content.

Civil government in Porto Rico, with a governor appointed by the President of the United States, and a legislative assembly elected by the Porto Ricans, was established in 1900.

A military administration in Cuba was maintained by the United States, with General Leonard Wood as governor, until the Cubans had framed a republican constitution which satisfied certain conditions imposed by the American Congress, and had elected a president and legislature. Then, on the 20th of May, 1902, the military forces of the United States were withdrawn, and the independent Republic of Cuba was recognized in due form.

The Republic of Cuba, May, 1902.

372. In China. 1900. By the acquisition of the Philippine Islands the United States was led to take an active interest in the affairs of the Far East. The great empire of China appeared to be in a crumbling state, and European powers were taking advantage of the weakness of its government to extort cessions of ports and districts, and special trading, mining, and railway-building privileges, in a shamefully bullying way. The American government took no part in that scramble; but its Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, pressed each of the powers in question for a pledge against any interference with equal rights of trade in China. Early in 1900 he secured such a guarantee of what was called the policy of the "open door." In dealing with the dreadful "Boxer" rising against foreigners in China, which occurred that year, the American government took

The "open door," 1900.

a creditable part, sending a considerable military force from the Philippines, under General Chaffee, to aid in the rescue of the besieged legations at Pekin. It exercised a potent influence in restraining the allies from extreme measures against the Chinese, who had been provoked by great wrongs.

373. Reëlection of President McKinley. 1900. The presidential election of 1900 brought the silver question up once more, and it pushed aside the issue that would otherwise have been supreme, between those who supported the government in its acquisition and subjugation of the Philippine Islands (called "imperialists"), and those (called "anti-imperialists") who opposed it. The silver forces again controlled the Democratic nominations, and again named Mr. Bryan, still demanding a free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. President McKinley was renominated by the Republicans, and the canvass of 1896 was repeated, with less heat. The verdict of the country was more emphatic than before. Mr. McKinley was reelected by a majority of nearly a million over Mr. Bryan, and by half a million over all the candidates (Democratic, Prohibitionist, Labor party, etc.) in the field.

374. Murder of President McKinley. — Succession of Vice-President Roosevelt. 1901. President McKinley lived through but six months of his second term. On the 6th of September, 1901, while attending the Pan-American Exposition[1] at Buffalo, and receiving a throng of people in its Temple of Music, he was most treacherously murdered by an assassin, who approached him, in the passing line, with a pistol hidden by a handkerchief in his hand. For some days there was hope that the

[1] The Pan-American Exposition was so called because limited to a representation of the resources, industries, and arts of North, South, and Central American countries.

President would survive the dreadful wound he received, but the hope was delusive; he died on the 14th. The wretch who killed him, and who was seized on the spot, proved to be a Polish anarchist, who had no personal motive, but was actuated by the insane enmity of his kind to all authority and law. The murderer was tried, convicted, and executed within two months after his crime.

Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded to the presidency, had had large experience already in public life, though but forty-three years of age, and was distinguished for vigor and independence of character, and for high political ideals. As a member of the national Civil Service Commission, as a police commissioner in the city of New York, and as governor of the State of New York, he had identified himself especially with civil service reform; and he had served with fine spirit in the Cuban campaign of the Spanish-American War. The cabinet of the late President was retained by Mr. Roosevelt, without change.

Theodore Roosevelt.

375. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. — The Interoceanic Canal. 1901–1903. In November Mr. Hay, of the State Department, added to his successes in diplomacy by concluding with the British ambassador at Washington, Lord Pauncefote, a new treaty, superseding the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, relative to the long-contemplated interoceanic canal. A similar treaty had been drawn and signed by the same negotiators in the previous year, but received amendments in the Senate which the British government declined to accept. The new Hay-Pauncefote Treaty proved acceptable in both countries, and was ratified without change. Like the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it guarantees the neutrality of any canal that may be opened through the Central American isthmus, but gives to the

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, November, 1901.

United States rights of ownership, regulation, and defence, which the former treaty did not.

This arrangement with England was preparatory to the taking of definite measures for securing the construction of the canal at the cost and under the ownership of the United States. An act of Congress passed in June, 1902, gives authority to the President to purchase, for the sum of $40,000,000, the unfinished Panama Canal, begun in 1882 by a French company which became bankrupt in 1888; provided that the government of Colombia, in whose territory it lies, will transfer the franchise of that company to the United States, with proper rights and powers to protect and regulate the canal, and with control of a strip of ground on the margins of the canal, not less than six miles wide. A convention which satisfied those conditions was signed by the Colombian minister at Washington, on the 22d of January, 1903; but rejected by the Colombian government in the August following. If the arrangement for acquiring the Panama Canal should fail, the President is empowered to undertake the construction of a canal on what is known as the Nicaragua route.

Isthmian Canal Act, June, 1902.

Rejected Colombian Treaty, 1903.

TOPICS AND SUGGESTED READING AND RESEARCH.

356. General Garfield elected President. — His Murder.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Strife over the Republican nomination. 2. Opposing candidates. — Demands of the Greenback party. — The election. 3. Factious hostility to President Garfield. 4. Effect on a disappointed office-seeker. — The President shot. Andrews, i. 307–336; Ridpath, ch. xii.–xiii.; Stanwood, ch. xxvi.

5. Vice-President Arthur as President. 6. Civil service reform quickened by the murder of President Garfield. Andrews, i. 336–347.

357. Change of Party in the Administration. — Election of President Cleveland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Action of "Independent Republicans." 2. Election of Mr. Cleveland, Democratic candidate, over Mr. Blaine. 3. The country undisturbed by the change of party in the government. 4. Independent course of President Cleveland. Andrews, ii. 62–95; Stanwood, ch. xxvii.

358. Controversies with Great Britain.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Fishery disputes. — The Halifax award. — Fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington annulled. 2. New treaty rejected by the Senate. 3. Causes of dispute removed by changed modes of fishing. Andrews, ii. 118–125, 290–291; Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 319–322; Blaine, ii. ch. xxvii.; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 542–546.

4. Bering Sea controversy and its arbitration. Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 564–567; Andrews, ii. 125–126.

359. Legislation and Incidents of the Period.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Repeal of the Tenure of Office Act. Cleveland, 464–475; *Atlantic Monthly*, June–July, 1900.

2. Provision against vacancies in the presidential office. 3. Act to regulate the counting of electoral votes. Stanwood, ch. xxviii.

4. Inter-State Commerce Commission.

5. President Cleveland's tariff message in 1887. — The Mills Bill. Stanwood, 458–459; Andrews, ii. 114–117; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 518–520.

6. Death of General Grant. Andrews, ii. 127–132.

7. Labor-strike riots. — Crime and execution of Chicago anarchists. Andrews, ii. 137–145.

360. Election of President Harrison.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Indecisive verdict of the election on the tariff question. 2. Republicans again in control of the government. 3. Admission of

new States. — Creation and opening of Oklahoma Territory. Stanwood, 459–487; Andrews, ii. 157–158, 195–200.

RESEARCH. — Difficulty of the United States with Chile. Hart, *Practical Essays*, v.

361. The McKinley Tariff.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Plan of the new tariff. Stanwood, 489–490; Taussig, *Tariff Hist.*, ch. v.

362. The Sherman Act.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Object of the act. 2. Demand for more silver in monetary use. 3. Opinions which caused the demand. 4. Provisions of the act. Taussig, *Silver Situation*, pt. 1, sect. vi.; White, ch. viii.

363. Second election of ex-President Cleveland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The People's or Populist party. 2. Election of President Cleveland. 3. Fusion of Democrats and Populists in Congress. Stanwood, 490–518; Andrews, ii. 232–243.

364. The Hawaiian Islands. — Columbian Exposition.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The Hawaiian revolution. 2. Treaty of annexation withdrawn by President Cleveland. Andrews, ii. 310–316; Richardson, ix. 460–472.

3. The Columbian Exposition at Chicago. Andrews, ii. 243–272.

365. A Monetary Crisis.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Demand for gold, as silver declined in value. 2. Why the government must give gold in exchange for its notes. 3. The "endless chain" process, drawing gold from the treasury. 4. The situation in 1893. — Extra session of Congress. — Repeal of the requirement to buy silver. 5. Further measures urged without success. Stanwood, 522–525; Taussig, *Silver Situation*, ch. vi.;

White, ch. viii.; *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1893; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 533–536; Richardson, ix. 401–405.

366. The Wilson Tariff and the Income Tax.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Tariff reductions. — Internal revenue. — Income tax. 2. Senate action on the tariff bill. 3. Income tax pronounced unconstitutional. Andrews, ii. 303–307; Stanwood, 523–525.

RESEARCH. — Supreme Court decision against the constitutionality of the income tax. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 554–557.

367. Venezuela Controversy with Great Britain.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. President Cleveland's message on the Venezuela question. 2. Menace of war. — Feeling in the two countries. 3. Arrangement for arbitrating the dispute. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 557–560, 684–693; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 567–572.

4. General arbitration treaty rejected by the Senate. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 577–580.

368. Silver Question in the Presidential Election.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Two conflicting opinions concerning money. 2. Excitement of the contest. — The "campaign of education." 3. The candidates and the popular vote. Stanwood, 525–569; Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 563–574; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 536–538.

369. The Dingley Tariff. — Adoption of the Gold Standard.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Special session of Congress for tariff legislation. 2. Character of the Dingley tariff. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 580–581.

3. Failure of negotiations for free silver coinage in Europe. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 314–317.

4. Final adoption of a standard "dollar," defined in gold. Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 539–541; Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 639–641.

5. Joint High Commission for settlement of questions with Canada. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 63–64.

370. The Spanish-American War.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. American sympathy with revolt in Cuba. 2. Destruction of the Maine in Havana harbor. 3. Determination to stop the war in Cuba. — Demand addressed to Spain. 4. Consequent war. — Calls for volunteers. — Blockade of Cuban ports. 5. Blockade of Spanish fleet at Santiago de Cuba. 6. Destruction of another in Manila Bay. 7. Military expedition to Santiago. — Battles of San Juan Hill and El Caney. 8. Attempted escape and destruction of Cervera's fleet. 9. Surrender of Santiago. 10. Siege and capture of Manila. — Relations between American army and a native force under Aguinaldo. 11. Revolutionary government proclaimed by Aguinaldo. 12. Conquest of Porto Rico. 13. Peace negotiations and treaty. — End of Spanish rule in Cuba. — Cessions to the United States. — Payment for the Philippine Islands. 14. Opposition to the acquisition of the Philippines, and its grounds. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 583–638, 171–182; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 579–581, 586–590, 608–611.

371. Native Revolt in the Philippines. — Independence of Cuba.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Revolt led by Aguinaldo, and its suppression. 2. Military rule, followed by a civil government. 3. Civil government in Porto Rico. 4. Creation of the independent Republic of Cuba. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 371–403, 182–190; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 601–603.

372. In China.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. Condition of China. — Action of European powers. 2. Guarantee of the "open door" secured by Secretary Hay. 3. Part taken by American forces against the "Boxer" rising. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 80–144; Hart, *Contemp's*, iv. 616–622.

373. Reëlection of President McKinley.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.

1. The silver question revived. — The issue that it pushed aside. 2. The vote reëlecting President McKinley. Larned, *Ready Ref.*, vi. 646–660.

374. Murder of President McKinley. — Succession of Vice-President Roosevelt.

TOPICS.

1. Circumstances of the murder of the President. 2. Antecedents and reputation of Vice-President Roosevelt.

375. The Inter-oceanic Canal.

TOPICS.

1. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty. — Isthmian Canal Act of Congress. — Rejected convention with Colombia.

EPOCHS OF PROGRESS AND CHANGE.

Early Epochs in the Settlement of the United States. In the spreading of population over the great area of the United States there have been six epochs of movement, distinctly marked: —

The first movement planted settlements along the Atlantic margin of the continent and on the eastern slopes of the Appalachian Mountain system, which was the limit of occupation, practically, till the end of the seventeenth century.

Coast settlements.

The second entered the valleys that lie between the ridges of the mountain system, stretching southwestwardly from Pennsylvania, where they come nearest to the coast, and where the movement into them began. Those valleys gave a direction to the most important advance of settlement in the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the eastern mountains.

Epochs of the Waterways: Rivers, Canals, and Lakes. The third movement, passing the mountains, into the valley of the Ohio, was pioneered about the middle of the eighteenth century, and, during the next seven decades, carried most of the westward emigration of the times to the borders of that river and its many tributary streams.

In the valley of the Ohio, 1750-1820.

The fourth movement of population, started by the building of the Erie Canal (1817–25), was into the basin of the Great Lakes. In 1820 there were probably not more than 100,000 people in the whole country that has its drainage to the lakes, against a million, at least, in the region whose waters run to the Ohio. From that time the westward migration on both courses, lake

Into the basin of the Great Lakes, 1820-1850.

and river, went forward at an ever increasing rate, stimulated in both directions by the rapid development of steamboat navigation, and forwarded in both by an energetic construction of connecting canals. The quarter century between 1825 and 1850 was a period in which waterways, natural and artificial, were an agency of more importance than in any former or later time.

Epochs of the Railway.[1] The fifth epoch opened when the new agency of the railway was added to the agency of the waterways, with substantial ability to double the rate of material progress. That came, as a fact, about 1850; for railways, with steam locomotion, though they had their beginning in 1830, did little for the western country in their first twenty years. In 1850 only 9000 miles of the iron road had been constructed in the whole United States, and most of that was in the east. Then the real opening of the era of the rail and the locomotive, as the chief factors in our national development, may be said to have occurred. In that year lines of rail from Georgia and South Carolina passed the southern mountains to Chattanooga. In 1851 the Erie Railway was finished from Lake Erie to New York; the Hudson River road was opened from New York to Albany; and the several linked roads (consolidated afterward in the New York Central) which had connected Albany with Buffalo since 1842 were permitted for the first time to carry freight in free competition with the Erie Canal. It was in the same year that heavy iron rails began to displace thin strips of iron laid on wooden stringers, in the construction of tracks. In 1852 two railways from Lake Erie to Chicago were opened, and in 1853 the last link (between Cleveland and Toledo) needed to connect New York with Chicago by rail was filled up. In 1854 the Mississippi was reached by the chain of rails from the ocean, and the chain was stretched to the Missouri in 1859. By 1860 the miles of railroad in the whole country

Opening of the railway era.

Westward advance of the locomotive, 1850-1861.

[1] Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States.* Interstate Commerce Commission, *Annual Reports.*

had increased to 30,000. Then came the check of the Civil War, during which only 5000 miles of new road were built.

What we may fairly call a sixth epoch was opened almost simultaneously with the closing of the Civil War. Hitherto the railway had been either the ally or the rival of many mighty waterways of travel and trade. Now it ran beyond reach of their help or their competition, out of the great valley regions into the almost waterless high plateaus and mountains of the farther west. There it began the work of wonder which is peopling supposed deserts with millions, covering them with fruitful orchards and fertile fields, and filling the depths of their hills with wealthy towns. In 1860 there were 400,000 white inhabitants of California and Oregon, but less than 200,000 between them and the eastern settlements of Kansas and Nebraska, with little reason to suppose that the latter number could be much increased. Nevertheless, the building of a railroad from the Missouri to the Pacific, to span that wide solitude, was begun in 1865 and finished in 1869. It was an undertaking, not of commercial enterprise, but of public policy, projected by the government as a means of binding the Pacific States to the Union, and the building of it was induced by enormous grants of public lands. Nobody expected much settlement of population or creation of traffic along its line, but there was an ambition to make it a route of trade with China and Japan; yet the census of 1900 found nearly three millions of people in five States through which it runs, and a recent historian of the road has written that ninety-five cents of every dollar it earns comes from its local trade. Instead of the one line of rail across the continent there are five lines to-day, inside of the limits of the United States, with a sixth in Canadian territory, at the north; and not less than ten millions of people are dwelling west of the meridian from which railway building took its new start in 1865.

Beyond the great valleys, 1865.

From the Missouri to the Pacific, 1865-1869.

The Farther West in 1900.

Irrigation of Arid Lands in the Farther West.[1] In the recent history of American agriculture, the facts of most interest are connected with the beginnings of an artificial irrigation of lands, in those wide regions of the farther west which receive little rain. Not many years ago they were looked upon as wastes of desert, although it was known that much of their soil became fertile wherever watered by the smallest stream.

Primitive irrigation.

Some artificial watering, by small canals and distributing ditches, from the limited lakes and rivers, had been practised from early times by the Pueblo Indian tribes of Arizona and New Mexico; and the Mormon settlers in Utah had applied such irrigation to considerable areas of land. In 1870, at Greeley, Colorado, a colony was founded for the purpose of testing the possibility of profitable agriculture in that country, on lands artificially irrigated, and the experiment had success. Gradually from that time the conviction has been growing that a large part of the arid lands of the west are not only capable of reclamation, but richly worth being reclaimed, even at great cost for works to store and distribute the waters in a regulated way. Between 1880

Recent works.

and 1889 nearly $68,000,000 of private capital were invested in such works, and at the end of that period, as shown by the census report of 1900, there were more than seven and a half millions of acres of far western land under irrigation, in 108,000 farms. In 1902 Congress was prevailed upon to make the undertakings of irrigation a national task, so far as to apply to them the proceeds of the sale of public lands in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. This was done by an act that became law in June of that year.

Expansion and Development in Thirty-five Years.[2] In thirty-five years, between the end of the Civil War and the end of

[1] *United States Census Reports: Twelfth Census, 1900*, vol. vi. (Agriculture) pp. 797–880.

[2] *United States Census Reports: Twelfth Census, 1900*, vol. ii. (Population), v.–vi. (Agriculture), vii.–x. (Manufactures).

the century, our nation added more than forty millions to the number of its inhabitants, spread them to the remotest corners of its immense domain, and gave them busy employments of a thousand kinds. To accomplish that wonderful expansion of life and labor on the continent, many agencies have worked together, but the railway has led them all. Its miles were lengthened from 35,000 in 1865 to 198,000 in 1901. By facilitating and cheapening the transportation of commodities, it has opened illimitable markets for wheat grown on the great fields of the distant northwest, for meats fattened on the wide plains of Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska, for fruits ripened on the Pacific slope, and for every mineral unearthed in the rich rocky recesses of the land. A few examples will indicate how much that unlocking of the resources of the country has meant. In 1870 the improved farm lands of the United States measured 188,000,000 acres in extent; in 1900 the measure was 414,000,000. Of wheat grown there were 152,000,000 bushels in 1867, and 748,000,000 in 1902; of corn, 868,000,000 bushels in 1867, and 2,105,000,000 in 1901; of cotton, 2,278,000 bales in 1866, and 10,768,000 in 1902. The domestic animals of the country were valued at $1,229,000,000 in 1870, and at $2,981,000,000 in 1900. The wool produced in 1866 weighed 150,000,000 pounds, against 316,000,000 in the product of 1902. The tons of coal mined were 70,000,000 in 1880, and 261,000,000 in 1901. Of iron and steel there were 3,263,000 tons produced in 1870, and 29,507,000 in 1900; but the nine-fold increase of quantity yielded only a four-fold increase in market value of product, showing that steel and iron have been cheapened more than half in the thirty years.

Agency of the railway.

Unlocking the resources of the country.

Cheapened Production of Iron and Steel. This cheapening of iron and steel, which has brought them nearly to the same level of low price, is the most important event in the industrial history of recent years. It gives the most useful form of the most useful metal to a thousand uses from which steel was barred formerly by its cost. It has been the result of

scientific and mechanical improvements in the processes of manufacture, starting from a revolutionary discovery that was perfected by Henry Bessemer in England, about 1859. The simple process of Bessemer for converting crude iron into hard and elastic steel, on a huge scale, at low cost, by forcing air through the molten metal to burn out an excess of carbon in it, was introduced in the United States about 1865. From that date, slowly at first and rapidly at last, steel has been displacing, not only iron, but wood and other materials, for countless constructive purposes. The greatest of economies in railway transportation has resulted from the durability of steel tracks, superseding the old iron rail. The frames of important buildings, bridges, ships — nearly all considerable structures of every character — are now of steel ; while its use in machinery and utensils increases from day to day. By the more economical organization of their works, by the encouragement they give to labor-saving inventions, and by what seems to be a more efficient general management, the iron and steel manufacturers of the United States are now confessedly leading the world.

Scientific and mechanical improvements.

General Progress in Manufacturing Industries.[1] Generally, the manufacturing industries of the country have been stimulated to a prodigious growth within the past thirty years, by their protection, on the one hand, from competition abroad. and, on the other hand, by the great area of their free trade at home, with multiplying millions of people. According to the census reports, $2,000,000,000 invested in all branches of manufacture in 1870 had been increased to nearly $10,000,000,000 in 1900 ; 2,000,000 wage-earners in manufacturing establishments had been multiplied to more than 5,000,000; their earnings had risen from less than $800,000,000 to more than $2 300,000,000 ; and the value of the total product of American manufactures had advanced from $4,000,000,000 to

[1] *United States Census Reports : Twelfth Census, 1900,* vol. vii.–x. (Manufactures).

$13,000,000,000. Whether the country and the people, as a whole, have been bettered in condition, or otherwise, by the protective policy which helped to produce these results, is a question much disputed between those who favor that policy and those who are opposed.

No parts of the country have gained more from this development of manufacturing industry than those parts in which it was neglected most before the Civil War. There was a seven-fold increase of capital invested in manufactures in the southern States between 1870 and 1900, against five-fold in the United States at large; nearly five-fold increase of wage-earnings, against three-fold in the whole country; and a value of product four times greater in one case and but three times greater in the other.

Progress in the south.

Discovery and Invention.[1] Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, scientific discovery and mechanical invention have wrought more change in the conditions of life on the globe than in all the ages that went before; and in no other country has the change been so great and so rapid as in the United States. Generally speaking, so far as human activities are affected by them, the important inventions of man have started from and been dependent on some capture of a natural force, subduing it to his use. At first, and till not much more than a century ago, he merely caught those forces as he found them already in action around him, — already setting matter in motion, — in winds, waterfalls, and strong animals, like the horse. He borrowed, so to speak, the existing motions of the natural world, and made them directly helpful to himself. At last — late in history — he began to get an inkling of the existence of an enormous store of locked-up force in the universe, prepared in motion-

Capture of natural forces.

[1] Iles, *Flame, Electricity, and the Camera;* Mendenhall, *Century of Electricity;* Thurston, *History of the Growth of the Steam Engine.*

less, imprisoned forms, ready to leap into activity for his service when he had learned how to set it free. Applying heat to water, he discovered the manageable energy in steam, invented the cylinder and piston, and acquired a new motor for every machine he might contrive. From the day of that grand achievement down to a time that seems only yesterday, invention was busy mainly with devices for perfecting and extending the service of the steam engine, — multiplying its labors as spinner, weaver, knitter, shoemaker, miller, sawyer, smith, printer, wagoner, galley-slave, — slave, in fact, for every task that the needs and desires of mankind can impose. For more than half a century after Watts, steam power was the sole form of force (except explosive and destructive force) that men had learned to generate and make useful for themselves. Then, having come upon faint traces of that more mysterious form of force that we call electricity, they began to learn something of its hidden sources and strange workings, and to bring it into use; but only as an agile servant at first, swift of motion, but feeble, — fit for the message-bearing telegraph, and for nothing else. Electrical discovery reached that practical result in 1844, and then halted for more than twenty years. It was not until about 1867 that the development of the dynamo began to disclose the possibility of a generation of controllable electric *power*. Since that time, the electric battery and the electric dynamo have taken the lead that the steam engine had held before, among the agencies of progress and change. The marvel of the telephone dates from about 1876–1878; electric lighting was made practicable in the next decade; the electric railway, which is transforming cities and revolutionizing rural life, had its beginning about 1881; the converting of power from great waterfalls, like that at Niagara, into electric energy, transmissible by wire for distant use, was accomplished in the last decade of the century; the employment of that energy in new processes of electro-metal-

Steam and the steam engine.

Electric force. The telegraph.

The dynamo, 1867.

The telephone, electric lighting, electric railway, transmission of water-power, 1876-1900.

lurgy and electro-chemical manufacture, yielding valuable new products, arose simultaneously; and the latest grand achievement of electrical science, in wireless telegraphy, had just been reached when the century closed. That we are entering an era in which the new-found form of Nature's energy will work more change in the world and in the life of man than all that has gone before seems a reasonable belief.

Electro-chemistry and metallurgy, wireless telegraphy, 1890-1900.

Social Effects of Economic Changes. The many and great economic changes of the past thirty years have acted upon the conditions of life in the country with profound social effects. The increase of wealth has surpassed the increase of population, which would mean a notable advance in general welfare if the increase had been shared in a general way; but that is a matter of some doubt. Probably there is, on the whole, a larger proportion of the people who enjoy what we call "easy circumstances" in life than there was a generation ago. Probably, too, those who live by hard labor earn generally the means of a more comfortable living than they did at the time in question. On all such points the comparisons are uncertain, because the scales of measurement have changed. Wages, salaries, incomes of every description, have mostly risen; but the cost of living has risen, too, in different particulars, at different places.

The one certain fact is that the inequalities of wealth in the country have been widening in these years to a startling degree. The mere millionaires, now common among us, were rarities in the last generation, while the huger fortunes of the present day, measured by hundreds of millions, were unimaginable, even to the romancers of that age. On the other hand, there was much less of extreme poverty than has come to be familiar to us in the last thirty or forty years. There were few, if any, of the grave social problems that confront us in these days, on both sides of the scale of fortune, — on the side of poverty and on the side of wealth. Of unemployed labor there was seldom enough to raise questions in our minds. We knew nothing

Widening inequalities of wealth.

of the anarchist or the tramp. As for the great problem that now troubles the world, namely, how to keep peace between powerful combinations of workmen in one class and capitalists in another, and how to protect the general welfare against both, it had not come into view.

Combinations in industry on the vast scale of the corporations, the "trusts," so called, and the labor unions of the present time, were not possible until science and invention had done what they have done in recent years, with steam, electricity, and other forces, to overcome distance and time, widening and speeding the intercourse of people with one another. Such organizations have risen among us lately in a startling way, with immeasurable capabilities of good in all of them, if wisely directed and justly controlled; and with dreadful powers of mischief, if wantonly used. Their natural relation to each other is that of alliance and coöperation; but their present tendency is toward conflict, with deep injury to the very interests that have organized them, and still more injury to society at large. Struggles between employers and employed, in strikes and lockouts, have been growing more frequent, more bitter, and more extensive, from year to year. The most serious of such contests occurred in 1902, when the production of anthracite coal was stopped for many months by a general strike of the miners engaged in it, and severe suffering in the whole country was caused. By the personal intervention of President Roosevelt, the mine-owners and the miners were persuaded finally to submit the disputes between them to a commission, and the strike was brought to an end. This and other successes in arbitration give hope that tribunals for a peaceful settlement of labor controversies may come into existence, and may acquire an authority that will remove most occasions of strife. One step of importance toward that result was taken in December, 1901, when action by a society called the "National Civic Federation" led to a conference in New York, at which eleven representatives of great corporations, twelve

Opposing combinations of labor and capital.

Peaceable arbitration of disputes.

of the foremost leaders of labor organizations in the country, and thirteen distinguished gentlemen who are selected representatives of the public at large, organized an "Industrial Department" of the said "Civic Federation," having for its purpose "to promote industrial peace and prosperity," by using its influence and tendering its good offices "to obviate and prevent strikes and lockouts." The pacific influence of so broadly representative a body can hardly fail to be very great. Another influence to the same end seems likely to result from the creation, by act of Congress, in 1903, of a new department of administration in the national government, styled the Department of Commerce and Labor.

New Department of Commerce and Labor.

Hostilities more serious than those in the industrial field, because fiercer and more lawless, have grown alarmingly of late in the relations between white and black people, especially in those parts of the country where slavery left large numbers of the African race. The political suppression of the negro in those sections has not produced a friendlier attitude toward him on the part of the whites. Whole communities seem to go mad with rage when a black man commits or is suspected of the commission of some foul crime, and rise in furious mobs, to trample on civilization and law. This is one of the most sinister signs of the times.

Race conflicts.

Progress in Education.[1] The hopeful remedy for all social disorders is in general education, and a noble share of the intense energy of American life and labor has always been directed to educational work, — more in late years than before. The foundations of a broad system of free common schools were laid early in most of the States; but not much beyond the establishing and improving of that elementary system had been accomplished at the outbreak of the Civil War. For an education above the rudiments of knowledge

[1] *United States Census Reports: Twelfth Census, 1900*, vol. ii. (Population); Butler, *editor*, *Education in the United States;* National Educational Association, *Journal;* Washington, Booker T., *The Future of the Negro.*

the free opportunities were scant. Private academies and endowed colleges had risen only in limited numbers, as institutions for a favored few. Then, at about the middle of the last century, an expansion of the free public school system to a higher and larger range was begun, by adding the "high school" and the "normal school;" and this has gone forward with a vigor so increasing that, in 1902, the number of high school pupils in the country was reported, at the annual meeting of the National Educational Association, to have doubled within the ten years last past. At the same time, the care for learning in still higher ranges has been stimulated in an equal degree. By munificent endowments from private benefactors, by large grants of public lands, by liberal appropriations of state aid, — often by united contributions from all three sources of support, — great universities and special schools of science and art have been multiplied extraordinarily within the past forty years. Nor has that upward pushing of educational forces caused any slackening of effort in the elementary field. The work of common teaching has been raised almost everywhere to a new efficiency, animated with a new spirit, and made resolutely searching, to reach all the youth in the land, by laws that restrict the industrial employments of the young and require their attendance at school. A systematic invigoration of all educational work has resulted from the organization at Washington, in 1867, of a national Bureau of Education, which gathers stimulating and suggestive information from every part of the world.

The high school development.

Universities and schools of science and art.

The United States Bureau of Education.

The real fruits of education, in conduct and character, cannot be shown statistically; but a certain gross measure of the work of American schools during the last two decades appears in the census reports of 1880, 1890, and 1900, and it indicates a splendid advance. In 1880 no less than 17 per cent. of the total population of the United States, above ten years of age, was illiterate, — unable to read and write. In 1900 the illiterates had been reduced

Rapid lessening of illiteracy.

to 10.7 per cent. Of the white population of the country, 9.4 per cent. was illiterate in 1880, and only 6.2 per cent. in 1900. Illiteracy among the native whites dropped from 8.7 per cent. in 1880 to 4.6 per cent. in 1900; but among the foreign-born white inhabitants it increased from 12 to 12.9 per cent. But the greater gain in elementary education appears among the people of color, 70 per cent. of whom had not learned to read or write in 1880, while the census of 1900 found but 44.5 per cent. in that ignorant state.

Conditions in the former slave States were changed amazingly in those twenty years. In the two groups, of "South Atlantic" and "South Central," into which those States are divided in the census reports, 75 and 76 per cent. of the colored population was illiterate in 1880, against 47 and 48 per cent. in 1900. Of the white population in the same two groups, 20 and 22 per cent. were unable to read and write in 1880, and but 11 per cent. in 1900. At this rate of diffusion, the rudiments of education will soon be given to all races in all regions, south and north.

In the former slave States.

Possibly more important to the freed blacks than a knowledge of letters is the teaching of handicrafts, the training for industrial occupations, the cultivation of thrifty ambitions and well-ordered modes of living, on which many devoted men and women are expending their lives in the south. That most practical mission work, begun by General Samuel C. Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute, in 1868, has grown to fame and greatness in the hands of Booker T. Washington, the wise leader, who seems to be showing the way of uplift to his race.

Industrial training of freedmen.

As an instrument for producing enlightened judgment and action in our democratic country, the free public library, created wholly within the last half century, ranks nearly if not quite as high in importance as the free public school. The first library ever founded as a municipal institution, maintained at public cost, for supplying books freely to readers for use in their own homes, was opened in Boston in 1852. From that seed of example, more than 5000

Free public libraries.

public libraries, for the free lending of books, have sprung into existence since, within the United States, nearly 3000 of which exceed 1000 volumes in extent. These have spread from cities to towns and villages, in every quarter of the land. Beyond the villages, too, out among the country farms, to the remotest settlements, streams of good literature are now flowing, in "travelling libraries," and by systems of rural delivery, from centres of distribution already organized in many States. Added to the free circulating libraries are some 2500 more that are free for the use of books by students and readers within their own rooms. Men of great wealth are promoting this free library movement by such endowments and gifts as never were bestowed on any public benefaction before. The gifts of Mr. Andrew Carnegie alone, to libraries in the United States, were reckoned at a total of $38,500,000 in 1903. Among all the activities of the new era we have entered, this seems to be preëminent in the largeness of its spirit and its promise of beneficent fruits.

Travelling libraries.

Library gifts and endowments.

American Literature. In the period following the Napoleonic wars and our second war with England, when the awakening of a new spirit in the country seemed to occur, we noted (see sect. 219) a very well-marked point of time from which American literature, in the higher meaning of the term, may be said to date. It appears late in the second decade of the nineteenth century, when Bryant (1817) published the poem "Thanatopsis," when Irving (1819) gave the first essays of the "Sketch Book" to the world, and when Cooper (1820) produced his first romance. Almost every name of high distinction in American letters — almost every writing that appears to be marked for lasting preservation — has come from the generation that was young in those years. At the middle of the century that generation was in its prime; its productive vigor was mostly spent before the ending of the Civil War; and not much that is equal to the best of its work has been added to American literature since that time, if the critical judgment of our

Beginnings.

In its prime.

own day is true. Let the reader make a list of the poems, romances, essays, histories, and other writings from American pens that class most assuredly high in quality, as works of true literary art, arranging them by the dates of their first publication, and it will surprise him to see how they cluster in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and how they drop away in its final thirty years. 1840-1870.

The later period is more fertile than its predecessor, and the quality of its literary product is not mean. In fact, there was never a time before in any country when literary gifts of a considerably high order were diffused so commonly, or cultivated so assiduously, yielding so much that is good; but the uplift of inspiration to *great* work seems wanting in nearly all that is done. Perhaps our age exhausts its genius so nearly in subduing the forces of nature and organizing the energies of mankind that it has little to spare for the undertakings of art. The next generation may have more freedom from material tasks and be better prepared for the finer workings of imagination and thought. There are signs to indicate a trend that way in the swift and powerful currents of American life.

Literary fertility.

Lack of high quality.

APPENDIX A.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Preamble.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I. Legislative Department.

Section I. Congress in General.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II. House of Representatives.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Repre-

sentatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III. Senate.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section IV. Both Houses.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section V. The Houses Separately.

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Privileges and Disabilities of Members.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses,

and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII. Mode of Passing Laws.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers granted to Congress.

The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like author-

ity over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.[1]

Section IX. Powers denied to the United States.

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Section X. Powers denied to the States.

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of

[1] This is the Elastic Clause in the interpretation of which arose the original and fundamental division of political parties.

credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II. Executive Department.

Section I. President and Vice-President.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal

number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.][1]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

[1] This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See Amendments, Art. XII.

Section II. Powers of the President.

1. The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III. Duties of the President.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV. Impeachment.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III. Judicial Department.

Section I. United States Courts.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II. Jurisdiction of the United States Courts.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.[1]

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. Treason.

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless

[1] This clause has been amended. See Amendments, Art. XI.

on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV. — The States and the Federal Government.

Section I. State Records.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II. Privileges of Citizens, etc.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.[1]

Section III. New States and Territories.

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

[1] This clause has been canceled by Amendment XIII., which abolishes slavery.

Section IV. Guarantee to the States.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. POWER OF AMENDMENT.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. PUBLIC DEBT, SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION, OATH OF OFFICE, RELIGIOUS TEST.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present,[1] the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.
NEW HAMPSHIRE — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
MASSACHUSETTS — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
CONNECTICUT — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.
NEW YORK — Alexander Hamilton.
NEW JERSEY — William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.
PENNSYLVANIA — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.
DELAWARE — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.
MARYLAND — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.
VIRGINIA — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.
NORTH CAROLINA — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.
SOUTH CAROLINA — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
GEORGIA — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*.

[1] Rhode Island sent no delegates to the Federal Convention.

APPENDIX A.

AMENDMENTS.[1]

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and

[1] Amendments I. to X. were proposed by Congress, Sept. 25, 1789, and declared in force Dec. 15, 1791.

district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Article VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

Article XI.[1]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

Article XII.[2]

1. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they

[1] Proposed by Congress March 5, 1794, and declared in force Jan. 8, 1798.

[2] Proposed by Congress Dec. 12, 1803, and declared in force Sept. 25, 1804.

shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Article XIII.[1]

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proposed by Congress Feb. 1, 1865, and declared in force Dec. 18, 1865.

Article XIV.[1]

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

[1] Proposed by Congress June 16, 1866, and declared in force July 28, 1868.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.[1]

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF STATES.

Showing the several dates of their ratification of the Federal Constitution, or of their admission to the Union, and the population of each according to the census nearest to the year of its admission.

RATIFIED THE CONSTITUTION.

	Date of Ratification.	White.	Free Black.	Slave.	Total.	Date of Census.
Delaware	Dec. 7, 1787	46,310	3,899	8,887	59,096	1790
Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, 1787	424,099	6,537	3,737	434,373	1790
New Jersey	Dec. 18, 1787	169,954	2,762	11,423	184,139	1790
Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788	52,886	398	29,264	82,548	1790
Connecticut	Jan. 9, 1788	232,581	2,801	2,759	238,141	1790
Massachusetts	Feb. 6, 1788	373,254	5,463	–	378,717	1790
Maryland	April 28, 1788	208,649	8,043	103,036	319,728	1790
South Carolina	May 23, 1788	140,178	1,801	107,094	249,073	1790
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	141,111	630	158	141,899	1790
Virginia	June 25, 1788	442,115	12,766	293,427	748,308	1790
New York	July 26, 1788	314,142	4,654	21,324	340,120	1790
North Carolina	Nov. 21, 1789	288,204	4,975	100,572	393,751	1790
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	64,689	3,469	952	69,110	1790

[1] Proposed by Congress February 26, 1869, and declared in force March 30, 1870.

LIST OF STATES.

ADMITTED TO THE UNION.

	Date of Admission.	White.	Free Black.	Slave.	Total.	Date of Census.
Vermont	Mch. 4, 1791	85,144	255	17	85,416	1790
Kentucky	June 1, 1792	61,133	114	11,830	73,077	1790
Tennessee	June 1, 1796	91,709	309	13,584	105,602	1800
Ohio	Feb. 19, 1803	45,028	337	–	45,365	1800
Louisiana	April 30, 1812	34,311	7,585	34,660	76,556	1810
Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	145,758	1,230	190	147,178	1820
Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817	42,176	458	32,814	75,448	1820
Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	53,788	457	917	55,162	1820
Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819	85,451	571	41,879	127,901	1820
Maine	Mch. 15, 1820	297,340	929	–	298,269	1820
Missouri	Aug. 10, 1821	55,983	347	10,222	66,557	1820
Arkansas	June 15, 1836	77,174	465	–	77,639	1840
Michigan	Jan. 26, 1837	211,560	707	–	212,267	1840
Florida	Mch. 3, 1845	27,943	817	25,717	54,477	1840
Texas	Dec. 29, 1845	154,034	397	58,161	212,592	1850
Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846	191,881	333	–	192,214	1850
Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	304,756	635	–	305,391	1850
California	Sept. 9, 1850	91,635	962	–	92,597	1850
Minnesota	May 11, 1858	171,864	259	–	172,123	1860
Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859	52,337	128	–	52,465	1860
Kansas	Jan. 29, 1861	106,579	625	–	107,204	1860
West Virginia	June 19, 1863	424,033	17,980	–	442,013	1870
Nevada	Oct. 31, 1864	6,812	45	–	6,857	1860

ADMITTED TO THE UNION SINCE THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

	Date of Admission.	White.	Black.	Total.	Date of Census.
Nebraska	Mch. 1, 1867	122,117	789	122,906	1870
Colorado	Aug. 1, 1876	191,126	2,435	193,561	1880
North Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	182,123	373	182,496	1890
South Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	327,290	541	327,831	1890
Montana	Nov. 8, 1889	127,271	1,490	128,761	1890
Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	340,513	1,602	342,115	1890
Idaho	July 3, 1890	82,018	201	82,219	1890
Wyoming	July 10, 1890	59,275	922	60,197	1890
Utah	Jan. 4, 1896	205,899	588	206,487	1890

APPENDIX C.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND TERRITORIES.

	Date of Organization.	White.	Colored.*	Total.	Date of Census.
District of Columbia...	Mch. 3, 1791	191,532	87,186	278,718	1900
Indian Territory	June 30, 1834	302,680	89,380	392,060	1900
New Mexico.....	Sept. 9, 1850	180,207	15,103	195,310	1900
Arizona	Feb. 24, 1863	92,903	30,028	122,931	1900
Alaska	July 27, 1868	30,493	33,099	63,592	1900
Oklahoma	April 22, 1889	367,524	30,807	398,331	1900

* Including Indians not taxed.

APPENDIX C.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

POLITICAL PARTIES, CANDIDATES, METHODS, AND VOTES, FROM THE FIRST ELECTION UNTIL THE LATEST.[1]

The first four elections were conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution as it was originally framed and adopted, the electors voting for two persons, with no indication of one to be President, the other Vice-President (see Constitution, Article 2, section 3). Subsequent elections have been regulated by the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1804.

First Election, 1789: Washington and Adams.

Parties and Candidates.

There was no definite contest between Federalists and Anti-Federalists in the election, and no nomination of candidates. Washington was the choice of all for President, but many persons were suggested in different States for the second place.

States participating: 10.[2]

[1] Compiled mainly from Stanwood's *History of the Presidency.*

[2] Rhode Island and North Carolina had not yet adopted the Constitution, and the vote of New York was lost in consequence of a disagreement between the two branches of its legislature.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia; by vote of the people in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; by selection in the legislature from persons named by popular vote in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Electoral Vote.

The ten States participating were entitled to 73 electoral votes, but four electors failed to perform their duty. Washington was named on all of the 69 votes that were cast. John Adams was elected Vice-President by 34 votes. Samuel Huntington received 2, John Jay 9, John Hancock 4, Robert H. Harrison 6, George Clinton 3, John Rutledge 6, John Milton 2, James Armstrong 1, Edward Telfair 1, Benjamin Lincoln 1.

Second Election, 1792: Washington and Adams.

Parties and Candidates (nominations informal).

Federalist: George Washington, of Virginia, and John Adams, of Massachusetts.

Anti-Federalist (beginning to be styled Democratic-Republican, or simply Republican): George Washington, of Virginia, and George Clinton, of New York.

States participating: 15.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By vote of the people in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia; by people and legislature in New Hampshire and Massachusetts; by members of the legislature, meeting for the purpose in districts, in North Carolina; by legislature in other States.

Electoral Vote.

For Washington, 132 (unanimous); for Adams, 77; for Clinton, 50; for Jefferson, 4; for Aaron Burr, 1.

Third Election, 1796: Adams and Jefferson.

Parties and Candidates (nominations informal).

Federalist: John Adams, of Massachusetts, and Thomas Pinkney, of South Carolina.

Republican: Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Aaron Burr, of New York.

States participating: 16.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By vote of the people in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina; by people and legislature in New Hampshire and Massachusetts; by legislature in other States.

Electoral Vote.

For Adams, 71; for Jefferson, 68; for Thomas Pinkney, 59; for Burr, 30; for Samuel Adams, 15; for Oliver Ellsworth, 11; for George Clinton, 7; for John Jay, 5; for James Iredell, 3; for George Washington, 2; for Samuel Johnson, 2; for John Henry, 2; for Charles C. Pinckney, 1.

Fourth Election, 1800: Jefferson and Burr.

Parties and Candidates (nominations informal).

Republican: Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Aaron Burr, of New York.

Federalist: John Adams, of Massachusetts, and Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.

States participating: 16.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By vote of the people in Rhode Island, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; by legislature in other States.

Electoral Vote.

For Jefferson, in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, total, 73.

For Burr, same States, total, 73.

For Adams, in New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, total, 65.

For Pinckney, in same States, total, 64.

For John Jay, Rhode Island, total, 1.

Jefferson and Burr having received an equal vote, and that vote a majority of the whole, the election went to the House of Representatives, and was decided after 35 unsuccessful ballots in favor of Jefferson for President, making Burr Vice-President. Jefferson received 55 votes, Burr 49.

Fifth Election, 1804: Jefferson and Clinton.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican (nominations by a caucus of Congressmen): Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and George Clinton, of New York.

Federalist (nominations informal): Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York.

States participating: 17.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in Vermont, Connecticut, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee; by vote of the people in districts in Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky; by vote of the people on general tickets in other States.

Electoral Vote.

For Jefferson and Clinton in all States excepting Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland, total, 162.

For Pinckney and King, in the three States named, total, 14.

Sixth Election, 1808: Madison and Clinton.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican[1] (nominations by a caucus of Congressmen): James Madison, of Virginia, and George Clinton, of New York.

Federalist (nominations informal): Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York.

States participating: 17.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia; by popular vote in districts in Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee; by popular vote on general tickets in other States.

Electoral Vote for President.

For Madison, in Vermont, New York (13 out of 19), New Jer-

[1] The party was divided by the nomination of Madison, James Monroe in Virginia taking the field as an independent candidate, and George Clinton in New York being supported by some Republicans for President instead of Vice-President.

sey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, total, 122.

For Pinckney, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, total, 47.

For Clinton, New York, 6.

Electoral Vote for Vice-President.

Clinton, 113; King, 47; John Langdon, 9; Madison, 3; Monroe, 3.

Seventh Election, 1812: Madison and Gerry.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican (nominations by Congressional caucus): James Madison, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.

Coalition, Federalist and Clintonian: De Witt Clinton, of New York, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania.

States participating: 18.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana; by vote of the people in districts in Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee; by popular vote on general tickets in other States.

Electoral Vote for President.

For Madison, in Vermont, Pennsylvania, Maryland (6 out of 11), Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Ohio, total, 128.

For De Witt Clinton, in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland (5 out of 11), total, 89.

Electoral Vote for Vice-President.

Gerry, 131; Ingersoll, 86.

Eighth Election, 1816: Monroe and Tompkins.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican (nominations by Congressional caucus): James Monroe, of Virginia, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.

Federalist (no formal nomination): Rufus King, of New York.

States participating: 19.

Mode of choosing Electors.

Same as in the preceding election.

Electoral Vote for President.

For Monroe, in all States except Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, total, 183.

For King, in the three States named, total, 34.

Electoral Vote for Vice-President.

Tompkins, 183; John E. Howard, of Maryland, 22; scattering, 12.

Ninth Election, 1820: Monroe and Tompkins.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican (nominations informal): James Monroe, of Virginia, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.

Federalist: no nomination.

States participating: 24.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana; by vote of the people in districts in Maine, Maryland, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri; by vote of the people on general tickets in other States.

Electoral Vote for President.

For James Monroe, all votes except one, in New Hampshire, total, 231.

For John Quincy Adams, 1.

Electoral Vote for Vice-President.

Tompkins, 218; Richard Stockton, 8; scattering, 6.

Tenth Election, 1824: Adams and Calhoun.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic-Republican (now called Democratic): William H. Crawford, of Georgia, and Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania (nominated for President and Vice-President by Congressional caucus); John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky (independently nomi-

nated for President); John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina (independently nominated for Vice-President).

States participating: 24.

Mode of choosing Electors.

Same as in preceding election.

Electoral Vote for President.

For Jackson, in New York (1 out of 36), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland (7 out of 11), North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana (3 out of 5), Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois (2 out of 3), total, 99.

For Adams, in the six New England States, New York (26 out of 36), Delaware (1 out of 3), Maryland (3 out of 11), Louisiana (2 out of 5), Illinois (1 out of 3), total, 84.

For Crawford, New York (5 out of 36), Delaware (2 out of 3), Maryland (1 out of 11), Virginia, Georgia, total, 41.

For Clay, New York (4 out of 36), Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, total 37.

Electoral Vote for Vice-President.

Calhoun, 182; Nathan Sanford, 30; Nathaniel Macon, 24; scattering, 24.

None of the candidates for President having received a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives completed the election, choosing John Quincy Adams, by 87 votes, against 71 for Jackson, and 54 for Crawford.

The electoral vote made Mr. Calhoun Vice-President.

Eleventh Election, 1828: Jackson and Calhoun.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic (nominations by state legislatures, conventions, and public meetings): Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.

National Republican (nominations informal): John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.

States participating: 24.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in Delaware and South Carolina; by vote of the people in districts in Maine, New York, Maryland, Tennessee; by vote of the people on general tickets in other States.

Popular Majorities.

For Jackson, in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois.

For Adams, in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland.

Total Popular Vote.

For Jackson, 647,276; for Adams, 508,064.

Electoral Vote.

For President, Jackson, 178; Adams, 83.

For Vice-President, Calhoun, 171; Rush, 83; William Smith, 7.

Twelfth Election, 1832: Jackson and Van Buren.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic (nominations by national convention): Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and Martin Van Buren, of New York.

National-Republican (nominations by national convention): Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania.

Anti-Masonic (nominations by national convention): William Wirt, of Maryland, and Amos Elmaker, of Pennsylvania.

States participating: 24.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in South Carolina; by vote of the people in districts in Maryland; by vote of the people on general tickets in other States.

Popular Majorities.

For Jackson, in Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois.

For Clay, in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky.

Total Popular Vote.

For Jackson, 687,502; for Clay, 530,189.

Electoral Vote.

For President, Jackson, 219; Clay, 49; Wirt, 7; John Floyd, 11.

For Vice-President, Van Buren, 189; Sergeant, 49; Elmaker, 7; William Wilkins, 30; Henry Lee, 11.

Thirteenth Election, 1836: Van Buren and Johnson.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic (nominations by convention): Martin Van Buren, of New York, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

Whig and Independent (nominations in various modes): for President, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, John McLean, of Ohio, Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts; for Vice-President, Francis Granger, of New York, and John Tyler, of Virginia.

States participating: 26.

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in South Carolina; by popular vote on general tickets in other States.[1]

Popular Majorities.

For Van Buren, in Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan.

For the various opposing candidates, in Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana.

Total Popular Vote.

For Van Buren, 762,978; for opposition candidates, 736,250.

Electoral Vote.

For President, Van Buren, 170; Harrison, 73; White, 26; Webster, 14; Willie P. Mangum, 11.

For Vice-President, Johnson, 147; Granger, 77; Tyler, 47; William Smith, 23.

[1] From this time until 1868 the mode of choosing electors remained unchanged, the sole exception to their election by popular vote on general tickets being in South Carolina.

Fourteenth Election, 1840: Harrison and Tyler.

Parties and Candidates.

Whig (nominations by convention[1]): William H. Harrison, of Ohio, and John Tyler, of Virginia.

Democratic (nomination by convention): Martin Van Buren, of New York. (No nomination for Vice-President made.)

Liberty Party (nominations by convention): James G. Birney, of New York, and Thomas Earl, of Pennsylvania.

States participating: 26.

Popular Majorities.

For Harrison, in Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan.

For Van Buren, in New Hampshire, Virginia, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Illinois.

Total Popular Vote.

For Harrison, 1,275,016; for Van Buren, 1,129,102; for Birney, 7069.

Electoral Vote.

For President, Harrison, 234; Van Buren, 60.

For Vice-President, Tyler, 234; R. M. Johnson, 48; L. W. Tazewell, 11; James K. Polk, 1.

Fifteenth Election, 1844: Polk and Dallas.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic: James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania.

Whig: Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey.

Liberty Party: James G. Birney, of New York, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio.

States participating: 26.

[1] From this time all party nominations for the presidency and vice-presidency were made by national conventions.

Popular majorities.

For Polk, in Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois.

For Clay, in Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio.

Total popular vote.

For Polk, 1,337,243; for Clay, 1,299,062; for Birney, 62,300.

Electoral vote.

For Polk and Dallas, 170; for Clay and Frelinghuysen, 105.

Sixteenth Election, 1848: Taylor and Fillmore.

Parties and Candidates.

Whig: Zachary Taylor, of Lousiana, and Millard Fillmore, of New York.

Democratic: Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky.

Free Soil Party: Martin Van Buren, of New York, and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts.

States participating: 30.

Popular majorities.

For Taylor, in Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont.

For Cass, in Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin.

Total popular vote.

For Taylor, 1,360,099; for Cass, 1,220,544; for Van Buren, 291,263.

Electoral vote.

For Taylor and Fillmore, 163; for Cass and Butler, 127.

Seventeenth Election, 1852: Pierce and King.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic: Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, and William R. King, of Alabama.

Whig: Winfield Scott, of New Jersey, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina.

Free Soil Party: John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana.

States participating: 31.

Popular majorities.

For Pierce, in all States except Kentucky, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and Vermont, which gave small majorities for Scott.

Total popular vote.

For Pierce, 1,601,474; for Scott, 1,386,580; for Hale, 156,667.

Electoral vote.

For Pierce and King, 254; for Scott and Graham, 42.

Eighteenth Election, 1856: Buchanan and Breckenridge.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic: James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

Republican: John C. Frémont, of California, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey.

American and Whig: Millard Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee.

States participating: 31.

Popular Majorities and Pluralities.

For Buchanan, in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

For Frémont, in Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

For Fillmore, in Maryland.

Total Popular Vote.

For Buchanan, 1,838,169; for Frémont, 1,341,264; for Fillmore, 874,534.

Electoral Vote.

For Buchanan and Breckenridge, 174; for Frémont and Dayton, 114; for Fillmore and Donelson, 8.

Nineteenth Election, 1860: Lincoln and Hamlin.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine.

Democratic (northern wing): Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia.

Democratic (southern wing): John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon.

Constitutional Union Party: John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

States participating: 33.

Popular Majorities and Pluralities.

For Lincoln, in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

For Breckinridge, in Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Texas.

For Bell, in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia.

For Douglas, in Missouri and New Jersey.

Total Popular Vote.

For Lincoln, 1,866,452; for Douglas, 1,376,957; for Breckenridge, 849,781; for Bell, 588,879.

Electoral Vote.

For Lincoln and Hamlin, 180; for Breckenridge and Lane, 72; for Bell and Everett, 39; for Douglas and Johnson, 12.

Twentieth Election, 1864: Lincoln and Johnson.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

Democratic: George B. McClellan, of New Jersey, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio.

States participating: 25.

Popular Majorities.

For Lincoln, in all States except Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey, which gave majorities for McClellan.

Total Popular Vote.

For Lincoln, 2,330,552; for McClellan, 1,835,985; soldiers' vote for Lincoln, 116,887; for McClellan, 33,748.

Electoral Vote.

For Lincoln and Johnson, 212; for McClellan and Pendleton, 21.

Twenty-first Election, 1868: Grant and Colfax.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

Democratic: Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri.

States participating: 33.[1]

Mode of choosing Electors.

By legislature in Florida; by popular vote on general tickets in other States, including South Carolina.

Popular Majorities:

For Grant, in all States except Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon, which gave majorities for Seymour.

Total Popular Vote.

For Grant, 3,012,833; for Seymour, 2,703,249.

[1] Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas had not yet been readmitted to representation in Congress, and did not take part in the election.

Electoral Vote.

For Grant and Colfax, 214; for Seymour and Blair, 80.

Twenty-second Election, 1872: Grant and Wilson.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts.

Coalition (Liberal-Republican and Democratic): Horace Greeley, of New York, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri.

Democratic: Charles O'Conor, of New York, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.

Prohibition: James Black, of Pennsylvania, and John Russell, of Michigan.

States participating: 37.

Popular Majorities.

For Grant, in all States except Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas, which gave majorities for Greeley.

Total Popular Vote.

For Grant, 3,597,132; for Greeley, 2,834,125; for O'Conor, 29,489; for Black, 5,608.

Electoral Vote.

For President,[1] Grant, 286, Thomas A. Hendricks, 42, B. Gratz Brown, 18, Greeley, 3, Charles J. Jenkins, 2, David Davis, 1.

For Vice-President, Wilson, 286, Brown, 47, Julian, 5, scattering, 14.

Twenty-Third Election, 1876: Hayes and Wheeler.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York.

Democratic: Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana.

Independent National, or Greenback Party: Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio.

[1] Mr. Greeley died before the electoral vote was cast.

Prohibition: Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, and G. T. Stewart, of Ohio.

States participating: 38.

Popular Majorities.

For Hayes, in California, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

For Tilden, in Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

In South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana there were disputed returns, and in Oregon one Republican elector chosen was declared ineligible by the governor, who gave a certificate to the highest candidate on the Democratic list.

Total Popular Vote.

For Hayes, according to Republican returns from the States in dispute, 4,036,298, according to Democratic returns, 4,033,768; for Tilden, according to Democratic returns, 4,300,590; according to Republican returns, 4,285,992; for Cooper, 81,737; for Smith, 9522.

Electoral Vote.

As determined by the Electoral Commission, see p. 575; for Hayes and Wheeler, 185; for Tilden and Hendricks, 184.

Twenty-fourth Election, 1880: Garfield and Arthur.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

Democratic: Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and William H. English, of Indiana.

Independent National or Greenback Party: James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas.

Prohibition: Neal Dow, of Maine, and A. M. Thompson, of Ohio.

States participating: 38.

Popular Majorities.

For Garfield, in Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

For Hancock, in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

Total Popular Vote.

For Garfield, 4,454,416; for Hancock, 4,444,952; for Weaver, 308,578; for Dow, 10,305.

Electoral Vote.

For Garfield and Arthur, 214; for Hancock and English, 155.

Twenty-fifth Election, 1884: Cleveland and Hendricks.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic: Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana.

Republican: James G. Blaine, of Maine, and John A. Logan, of Illinois.

Anti-Monopoly: Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and Alanson M. West, of Mississippi.

Greenback: Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and Alanson M. West, of Mississippi.

Prohibition: John P. St. John, of Kansas, and William Daniel, of Maryland.

States participating: 38.

Popular Majorities.

For Cleveland, in Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

For Blaine, in California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada,

New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

Total Popular Vote.

For Cleveland, 4,874,986; for Blaine, 4,851,981; for Butler, 175,370; St. John, 150,369.

Electoral Vote.

For Cleveland and Hendricks, 219; for Blaine and Logan, 182.

Twenty-sixth Election, 1888: Harrison and Morton.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, of New York.

Democratic: Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio.

National Prohibition Party: Clinton B. Fiske, of New Jersey, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri.

Union Labor Party: Alson J. Streeter, of Illinois, and Samuel Evans, of Texas.

United Labor Party: Robert H. Cowdrey, of Illinois, and W. H. T. Wakefield, of Kansas.

States participating: 38.

Popular Majorities.

For Harrison, in California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

For Cleveland, in Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

Total Popular Vote.

For Harrison, 5,439,853; for Cleveland, 5,540,329; for Fiske, 249,506; for Streeter, 146,935; for Cowdrey, 1591.

Electoral Vote.

For Harrison and Morton, 233; for Cleveland and Thurman, 168.

APPENDIX C.

Twenty-seventh Election, 1892: Cleveland and Stevenson.

Parties and Candidates.

Democratic: Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

Republican: Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Whitelaw Reid, of New York.

National Prohibition Party: John Bidwell, of California, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas.

People's or Populist Party: James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and James G. Field, of Virginia.

Socialist Labor Party: Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, and Charles H. Matchett, of New York.

States participating: 44.

Popular Majorities and Pluralities.

For Cleveland, in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

For Harrison, in Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, Wyoming.

For Weaver,[1] in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, North Dakota.

Total Popular Vote.

For Cleveland, 5,556,543; for Harrison, 5,175,582; for Weaver, 1,040,886; for Bidwell, 255,841; for Wing, 21,532.

Electoral Vote.

For Cleveland and Stevenson, 277; for Harrison and Reid, 145; for Weaver and Field, 22.

[1] The Democrats nominated no electors in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming, giving their votes in those States to the Populist candidates. Alliances with the Populists were made in a few northern States by the Democrats, and in several southern States by the Republicans. This makes it impossible to determine precisely the popular vote cast by the several parties.

Twenty-eighth Election, 1896: McKinley and Hobart.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: William McKinley, of Ohio, and Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey.

Democratic: William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine.

People's or Populist Party: William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia.

National Silver Party: William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine.

National Democratic: John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky.

Socialist Labor Party: Charles H. Matchett, of New York, and Matthew Maguire, of New Jersey.

Prohibition Party: Joshua Levering, of Maryland, and Hale Johnson, of Illinois.

National Party (a secession from the Prohibition): Charles E. Bentley, of Nebraska, and James H. Southgate, of North Carolina.

States participating: 45.

Popular Majorities and Pluralities.

For McKinley, in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

For Bryan, in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming.

Total Popular Vote.

For McKinley, 7,111,607; for Bryan, 6,509,052; for Palmer, 134,645; for Levering, 131,312; for Matchett, 36,373; for Bentley, 13,968.

Electoral Vote.

For President, McKinley, 271, Bryan, 176.

For Vice-President, Hobart, 271, Sewall, 149, Watson, 27.

Twenty-ninth Election, 1900: McKinley and Roosevelt.

Parties and Candidates.

Republican: William McKinley, of Ohio, and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York.

Democratic: William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

People's or Populist Party (divided): Middle-of-the-Road Populists: Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, and Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota; Fusion wing: William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota.

Silver Republican: William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

Prohibition Party: John G. Woolley, of Illinois, and Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island.

United Christian Party: Jonah F. R. Leonard, of Iowa, and David H. Martin, of Pennsylvania.

Social Democratic: Eugene V. Debs, of Illinois, and Job Harriman, of California.

Socialist Labor Party: Joseph F. Malloney, of Massachusetts, and Valentine Remmel, of Pennsylvania.

Union Reform Party (favoring direct legislation): Seth H. Ellis, of Ohio, and Samuel T. Nicholson, of Pennsylvania.

States participating: 45.

Popular Majorities and Pluralities.

For McKinley, in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

For Bryan, in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Total Popular Vote.

For McKinley, 7,206,677; for Bryan, 6,374,397; for Barker,

50,373; for Woolley, 208,555; for Leonard, 1060; for Debs, 84,003; for Malloney, 39,537; for Ellis, 5698.

Electoral Vote.

For McKinley and Roosevelt, 292; for Bryan and Stevenson, 155.

APPENDIX D.

IMPORTANT MEASURES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

Administration of President Washington.

1789. First tariff and tonnage acts. — Organization of the Federal Treasury, State, and War Departments. — Organization of a Federal judiciary system. — Confirmation of the Ordinance of 1787, relative to the Northwest Territory. — Proposal and adoption of the first ten Amendments to the Federal Constitution.

1790. Funding the foreign and domestic debt of the late Confederation. — Assumption and funding of the war debts of the States. — Acquisition and nationalization of the District of Columbia, for the location of a national capital. — Resolutions declaring the powerlessness of Congress to interfere with slavery in the States. — First Census Act. — First Patent Law. — First Copyright Law.

1791. Revision of the tariff. — Excise Law. — Act creating the first Bank of the United States. — Admission of Vermont and Kentucky to the Union.

1793. Proclamation of neutrality in the war between England and France. — Demand for the recall of "Citizen Genet," minister from France.

1794. Suppression of the "Whiskey Rebellion" in western Pennsylvania. — Negotiation and ratification of the Jay Treaty with England.

1795. Conclusion of treaty with Spain, freeing the navigation of the Mississippi.

1796. Admission of Tennessee to the Union.

Administration of President John Adams.

1797. Pacificatory mission of three envoys extraordinary to France.

1798. War measures consequent on the "X. Y. Z. Correspondence." — Alien and Sedition Acts. — Organization of the Territory of Mississippi.

1800. New treaty with France, originating "French Spoliation claims." — Organization of the Territories of Ohio and Indiana.

1801. Appointment of John Marshall to be Chief Justice of the United States.

Administration of President Jefferson.

1801. Chastisement of the pirates of Tripoli. — Purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon I.

1802. Organization of the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana.

1803. Expedition under Lewis and Clark sent to explore the Missouri, and beyond.

1805. Treaty with Tripoli. — Organization of the Territory of Michigan.

1806. Act prohibiting the importation of British goods.

1807. Enforcement of Non-Importation Act. — Passage of Embargo Act. — Act prohibiting the African slave trade.

1809. Enlargement of powers for enforcement of Embargo Act. — Repeal of Embargo Act. — Substitution of non-intercourse with Great Britain and France. — Organization of the Territory of Illinois.

Administration of President Madison.

1809. Suspension and renewal of Non-Intercourse Act, as it related to Great Britain.

1810. Provisional repeal of Non-Intercourse Act. — Commercial intercourse with Great Britain interdicted. — Occupation of West Florida. — Act authorizing the adoption of a state constitution in the Territory of Orleans.

1811. Dissolution of the United States Bank.

1812. Admission of the Territory of Orleans as a State, named Louisiana. — Annexation of West Florida in part to the new State

and in part to the Territory of Mississippi. — Act ordering an embargo for ninety days. — Declaration of war with Great Britain.

1815. Treaty of Ghent, restoring peace with Great Britain. — War, resulting in a treaty, with the Dey of Algiers.

1816. Charter of the second Bank of the United States. — Admission of Indiana to the Union. — Tariff Act, increasing protective duties. — Appropriation for "internal improvements."

Administration of President Monroe.

1817. War with the Seminole Indians of Florida. — Admission of Mississippi to the Union.

1818. Convention with Great Britain establishing part of northwestern boundary, with joint occupancy of Oregon. — Admission of Illinois to the Union.

1819. Purchase of West Florida from Spain, with a definition of Spanish boundary lines in the west. — Admission of Alabama to the Union.

1820. The Missouri Compromise Act. — Admission of Maine to the Union. — Act fixing a four years' term for many Federal offices.

1820. Admission of Missouri to the Union.

1823. Declaration by President Monroe of the principle of American policy known since as the "Monroe Doctrine."

1824. Tariff Act, increasing protective duties.

Administration of President John Quincy Adams.

1828. The "Tariff of Abominations."

Administration of President Jackson.

1830. Diplomatic arrangement with Great Britain, to reopen her West Indian trade to American shipping.

1832. Act to renew the charter of the United States Bank, vetoed by the President. — Tariff Act, more strictly protective than that of 1828. — President Jackson's proclamation against the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina.

1833. "Force Bill." — "Compromise Tariff" Act. — Removal of government deposits from the United States Bank. — Censure of the President by Senate resolution.

1834. Creation of Indian Territory.

1835. Settlement of claims against France.

1836. Resolution of the House of Representatives directing all

petitions concerning slavery to be laid on the table, without action. — Act directing a distribution of surplus revenue among the States. — The President's "Specie Circular."

1837. Resolution to expunge the censure of President Jackson, passed in 1833, from the journal of the Senate. — Recognition of the Republic of Texas.

Administration of President Van Buren.

1840. Act to establish the Independent Treasury System. — Resolution of the House of Representatives refusing to receive petitions against slavery.

Administration of President Tyler.

1841. Repeal of the Independent Treasury Act. — Act to distribute proceeds of the sale of public lands among the States.

1842. Revision of the Compromise Tariff, annulling the Act to distribute land revenues. — Negotiation of the Ashburton Treaty.

1844. Texas annexation treaty rejected by the Senate.

1845. Annexation of Texas. — Admission of Florida and Iowa to the Union. — Rescinding of the rule of the House of Representatives against receiving anti-slavery petitions.

Administration of President Polk.

1846. Oregon Boundary Treaty with Great Britain. — Declaration of war with Mexico. — Walker Tariff Act. — Act to reëstablish the Independent Treasury.

1848. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico. — Territorial organization of Oregon with slavery excluded.

Administration of President Fillmore.

1850. The five measures of Compromise, admitting California to the Union, establishing territorial governments in New Mexico and Utah, purchasing the Texas claim on New Mexico, prohibiting the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and enacting a new Fugitive Slave Law. — Negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain.

Administration of President Pierce.

1854. Kansas-Nebraska Act, organizing the Territories of Kan-

sas and Nebraska, and repealing the Missouri Compromise. — Treaty of Reciprocity with Canada.

Administration of President Buchanan.

1857. The Dred Scott decision by the Supreme Court.

1858. Act submitting the Lecompton Constitution to a vote of the people of Kansas. — Admission of Minnesota to the Union.

1859. Admission of Oregon to the Union.

1861. Admission of Kansas to the Union. — Morrill Tariff Act. — Territorial organization of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota.

Administration of President Lincoln.

1861. Call (April 15) for 75,000 militia to suppress combinations against the laws. — Call (May 3) for 42,000 volunteers and 18,000 seamen. — Proclamation (April 19) of a blockade of southern ports. — Executive approval of the dictum that slaves are "contraband of war." — Congressional ratification of war measures of the President. — Authority given to raise 500,000 volunteers and make a loan of $250,000,000. — Act to increase tariff rates and impose an income tax. — Act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, including slaves.

1862. First Legal Tender Act, authorizing an issue of $100,000,000 of legal tender treasury notes. — Revision of the tariff, increasing rates of duty. — Internal Revenue Act. — Resolution of Congress proffering aid to undertakings of compensated emancipation in slave States. — Act forbidding military officers to surrender fugitive slaves. — Compensated abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. — Act to confiscate the property (including slaves) of all persons in arms against the government. — Executive consent to the organizing and arming of refugee negroes for military service. — President Lincoln's first (warning) Proclamation of Emancipation. — Admission of West Virginia to the Union.

1863. The President's final Proclamation of Emancipation. — Conscription Act. — National Banking Act. — President Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction.

1864. Reconstruction of state governments in Louisiana and Arkansas. — Abolition of slavery by state action in Maryland.

1865. Adoption by Congress of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. — Act to establish the Freedmen's Bureau. — Abolition of slavery by state action in Missouri, Tennessee, Ar-

kansas, and Louisiana. — Executive order to stop drafting, recruiting, and the purchase of military supplies.

Administration of President Johnson.

1865. President Johnson's Proclamation of Amnesty. — Reconstruction of state governments in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. — Proclamation of the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution by three fourths of the States.

1866. Civil Rights Act. — Joint resolution proposing the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. — Tennessee readmitted to representation in Congress.

1867. Tenure of Office Act. — Act to establish universal manhood suffrage in the District of Columbia and the Territories. — Admission of Nebraska to the Union. — Military Reconstruction Act. — Supplementary Reconstruction Act. — Diplomatic expostulations causing the withdrawal of the French from Mexico. — Purchase of Alaska from Russia.

1868. Impeachment and trial of the President. — North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas, reconstructed under the Military Reconstruction Act, admitted to representation in Congress. — Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment proclaimed.

1869. Joint resolution proposing the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Administration of President Grant.

1869. Treaty for the annexation of San Domingo rejected by the Senate.

1870. Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment proclaimed. — Force Bill passed.

1870. Second Force Bill passed. — Treaty of Washington. — First Civil Service Reform enactment.

1872. Amnesty Act, restoring franchises to large classes in lately rebellious States. — Settlement of Alabama Claims by arbitration at Geneva.

1873. Coinage Act.

1875. Act to provide for a resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879.

1877. Act to create an Electoral Commission.

IMPORTANT MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Administration of President Hayes.

1877. Executive withdrawal of Federal forces from the south.
1878. Bland Silver Act.
1879. Resumption of specie payments.

Administration of President Arthur.

1883. Pendleton Civil Service Act. — Notice to annul the fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington.

First Administration of President Cleveland.

1886. Act to prevent a vacancy in the presidential office.
1887. Act to regulate the counting of electoral votes. — Act to create an Inter-State Commerce Commission. — Repeal of the Tenure of Office Act.
1888. Fisheries Treaty with Great Britain rejected by the Senate.

Administration of President Benjamin Harrison.

1889. Admission to the Union of Washington, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota. — Opening of Oklahoma to white settlers.
1890. The McKinley Tariff Act. — The Sherman Silver Act. — Admission to the Union of Idaho and Wyoming.
1892. Agreement with Great Britain for the arbitration of the Bering Sea dispute.
1893. Treaty of annexation with the revolutionary government of the Hawaiian Islands.

Second Administration of President Cleveland.

1893. Hawaiian annexation treaty withdrawn from the Senate by the President. — Act stopping the purchase of silver by the government under the Sherman Act.
1894. The Wilson Tariff Act and Income Tax Act.
1895. Supreme Court decision against the constitutionality of the income tax.
1897. Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain rejected by the Senate.

Administration of President McKinley.

1897. The Dingley Tariff Act.

1898. Declaration of War with Spain. — Treaty of peace with Spain, acquiring Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands, and releasing Cuba from Spanish rule.

1900. Act establishing the standard "dollar," defined in gold. — Establishment of a Civil Commission in the Philippine Islands, with legislative powers, to coöperate with the military authority. — Erection of civil government in Porto Rico. — Diplomatic negotiation of the pledge of the "open door" to trade in China.

1900. Erection of civil government in the Philippine Islands. — Coöperation with other Powers in the suppression of the "Boxer" outbreak in China.

Administration of President Roosevelt.

1900. Negotiation and ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain, relative to an interoceanic canal.

1902. Withdrawal of military forces from Cuba and recognition of Cuban independence. — Isthmian Canal Act.

1903. Isthmian Canal convention with Colombia, rejected by the Colombian Senate.

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